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PREPARING THE WAY

THE INFLUENCE OF JUDAISM OF THE GREEK PERIOD ON THE EARLIEST DEVELOPMENTS OF CHRISTIANITY

BY

FRANK STREATFEILD, B.D.

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FOREWORD

A DOUBLE apology is needed for such a book as this; its title would seem to demand a lifetime of study, rather than the six or seven years the author has devoted to it, and so much of the material here presented has been published in more than one previous work. But the excuse is ventured that a résumé of a period of study may be welcome to those who have little leisure, and are unable for one reason and another to procure the large, costly, and often out-of-print works which form the bibliography; the great importance too of the subject for the understanding of the New Testament[1] may warrant a multiplication of volumes upon it.

I am much indebted to the Rev. C. H. Dodd for valuable suggestions and criticisms.

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,
Epiphany 1918.

[1] *Manchester Theological Lectures*, Series 1, p. 59, "The most pressing question for us to-day in New Testament Theology is to reconstruct the environment in which Christianity grew up, and settle, as far as we can, the question, What were the historical influences that helped to shape it? . . . from what quarries came the stones with which the New Jerusalem was built?

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INTRODUCTION

The connexion of the Old and New Testaments, and the use made by the latter of the former, is a commonplace of Theology. Citations, allusions, traditions, customs taken from the older books have been observed, and carefully noted. But a similar connexion with, and debt to, the literature, the customs, and the beliefs of the three centuries immediately preceding the Birth of Christ[1] is to the majority of people still unknown or denied; only within the last few decades has the professed student learned much about those times, and the knowledge has not yet become very widely spread.

This ignorance has been due to the rejection of most of the literary monuments of that period from the Canon of Scripture,[2] especially the closer form (familiar to us in the truncated Bibles commonly

[1] This may roughly be called the Greek period of Jewish History, extending from the accession of Alexander the Great (336 B.C.) to the accession of Herod the Great (37 B.C.), with a rather later limit for writings springing from the influence of this period.

[2] Burkitt, *Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*, p. 9, ". . . the Canon of Scripture was defined, with the inevitable result that the rejected books gradually became forgotten, and ceased to exercise any influence on Jewish thought." Precisely the same thing, though at a slightly later date, happened to them in Christian circles.

sold), which restricts the Old Testament to the books accepted by the Jewish Rabbis and extant in Hebrew. How different was the opinion of the Christians of the first century will be seen later.

Now this restriction of the number of books accounted canonical led to an *a priori* denial that any excluded books had an influence on the New Testament, and as the strict view of the Canon spread, many books which had been known and loved were laid aside, to be either lost altogether or preserved only by some outlandish country that was heretical enough to keep them ; even the books retained as Apocrypha in some measure lost all claim to influence or importance.

It was generally thought, too, that the Hebrew Canon closed shortly after the Exile, and thus a number of books, which really belong to the Greek Period, were greatly ante-dated, and their contents used as evidence for the beliefs and practices of pre-Exilic days. So patiently was it taken for granted that the Jewish system of our Lord's day was the same as that of Ezra or even of Solomon, that the real hiatus between them was almost entirely overlooked.[1]

By the labours of many scholars of modern days all this has been changed. Many lost books have been recovered, and all the available sources studied

[1] *Manchester Theological Lectures*, Series 1, p. 60, "The Judaism of Paul's day is largely unfamiliar to us. We know it in the Apocalypses, which throw much light on some obscure subjects in the New Testament."

with minute care. Judaism of the days after the Exile has been marked off quite clearly from the Israelitish religion of the Kings.[1] The different types of literature have been classified, and dated with some approach to accuracy.

With this new light upon a period so long ignored, or misunderstood,[2] the great debt of Christianity to these long-despised centuries is very plain, and demands attention from all who desire to know their Bible from the historical viewpoint. They were the great days of Judaism, the "Golden Age" of the Jews, and it will come as no surprise, when we realise this, to learn that the days of the Second Temple did as much or more in "preparing the way of the Lord" than did the Davidic kingdom.

The following pages will give a short account of how the Jews progressed from the days of Ezra till the coming of the Gospel, showing under various heads (at the cost of occasional repetition, for the subjects inevitably dovetail into one another) how much of the thought, form, and writing of the first century of Christianity is taken from these developments of Judaism.[3]

[1] G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, vol. 2, p. 362, "We are to conceive the Jews, through the rest of the Persian Period, as settling into those habits of life which ever afterwards distinguished them."

[2] Burkitt, *op. cit.* p. 4, "It is a curious fact that the parts of Israelite history with which most of us are familiar are concerned with the preparation of the Jews for their particular rôle, rather than with the part they actually played in general history."

[3] Burkitt, *op. cit.* p. 10, "Above all, these documents (*i.e.* the

The following passages may be quoted in further support of the importance of our subject:

Andrews, *The Apocryphal Books of the Old and New Testaments*, p. 6, "It may be said, therefore, that a knowledge of Apocryphal Literature is even more essential for the study of the New Testament than a knowledge of the Old Testament itself."

Charles, *Religious Development*, p. 15, "These ideas have been rudely shattered by the research of recent years, and the vast services of Apocalyptic not only to Judaism but still more to Christianity are now steadily coming into recognition."

Ibid. p. 115, "So far from being ages of spiritual stagnation and darkness, they might with justice be described as the two most fruitful centuries in religious life and thought in the history of Israel. No New Testament scholar can understand the New Testament as the culmination of the spiritual development of the past apart from this literature."

Ibid. p. 147, "A study of the literature that comes between the Old and New Testaments shews that there was a steady development in every department of religious thought in the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era."

Sanday and Headlam, Romans (*Int. Crit. Com.*), p. vii., "We have been much assisted by the attention which has been bestowed in recent years on these writings . . . It is by a continuous and careful study of such works that any advance in the exegesis of the New Testament will be possible."

Apocalypses) are important to the Christian student, because he is less concerned with the reconstruction of Judaism under Johanan ben Zakkai and his successors than with the general conditions of Judaism before the Destruction of Jerusalem." P. 13, "Many of the most characteristic features of Jewish religious life did disappear at the Destruction of Jerusalem, and have never been renewed to this day."

Hassé (*Manchester Theological Lectures*, Series 1, p. 128), "There is no doubt that this literature has large significance for the interpretation of the New Testament . . . indeed, it is indispensable to a historically reliable grasp of the period."

Ibid. p. 156, ". . . a great deal of the faith and thought of the Apocalyptic literature passed directly or indirectly into, and lives on in the convictions of the first generation of the Christian Church. . . . The material of this Jewish faith . . . among the very foundation stones of what came to be the Christian faith . . . the authority of God and the responsibility of man. Christianity . . . built on them . . . a fabric of life and thought very different from that of Judaism. But it is Judaism which has supplied these foundation stones."

Hatch, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 4, " . . . no permanent change takes place in the religious beliefs or usages of a race which is not rooted in the existing beliefs and usages of that race. . . . The religion which our Lord preached was rooted in Judaism."

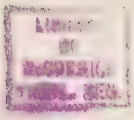
Oesterley, *Doctrine of the Last Things*, p. 1, ". . . the New Testament, and especially the Gospels, is permeated with Jewish belief and thought. When Christ teaches, He bases His teaching, in the first instance, on Jewish doctrine."

Ibid. p. 4, ". . . early Christian thought and teaching can only be fully grasped when seen in the light of Jewish thought and teaching . . . the Gospels can only be fully appreciated when explained from the Jewish point of view. . . . Christ was, according to the flesh, a Jew, brought up according to Jewish ideas."

Deissmann, *New Light on the New Testament*, p. 75, "Considering, therefore, the strong hold which religion had on the age which saw the birth of Christianity, we are impelled to say that the age was prepared for the new religion, positively prepared for its reception."

PART I

LIFE AND THOUGHT



CHAPTER I

POLITICS AND PROPAGANDA

For the development of early monotheism, revelation within a picked tribe, a "chosen people," seems inevitable and natural, and so the earlier stages of Judaism are worked out in a tiny mountain state, independent and for the most part secluded from the nations around. But for the universalization of this faith, no less does it seem necessary to break down this seclusion, to shatter the intense nationalism which had fostered this religion in its infancy, so that other nations may accept it without surrendering their national prestige. And it must be done in such a manner as to preserve the individuality and continuity of the human channels of the revelation. This transformation was accomplished in the Jews after their return from Babylon. Immediately after their return it may be said that they observed the Jewish religion because they were Jews by birth, and most of them would not expect any other nation to do so; but in the time of Christ the Jew

only realized his nationality by means of his religion,[1] and the heathen are at least invited to join it on a perfectly equal footing.

The importance of this (and its logical sequence in St. Paul's dictum, "He is a Jew that is one inwardly"[2]) in the scheme of religious evolution can hardly be exaggerated, and the political developments which effected it have a large share in "preparing the way of the Lord."[3]

A. Imperialism

The first stage in this process is the fact that the re-established Jerusalem was a Persian Province even though a Jewish Satrap might have charge of it, and this position of vassalage, with the exception of a short spell of freedom under the Maccabees, became the rule. However much they disliked it, the Jews were forced to be members of a great Empire, always of many races, and not infrequently including nearly the whole world known to them. Imperial thinking was thus inevitable.[4] However narrow the Jew might be, the mind had to be

[1] Ottley, *Religion of Israel*, p. 131, "Israel in fact now formed a church rather than a nation." [2] Ro. 2. 29.

[3] Burkitt, *Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*, p. 4, "It is during the two centuries and a half that extend from the Maccabean rising to the Destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, from 170 B.C. to A.D. 70, that the world in general is confronted with the Jewish nation."

[4] Burkitt, *op. cit.* p. 6, "During the period we are considering (170 B.C.–A.D. 70) Judaism came to play an imperial part in the history of civilization, and as a consequence Judaism learned—the modern catch-word is convenient—'learned to think imperially.'"

assimilated to the idea of being part (and a very small part) of a world empire in secular matters at least; and this made it necessary to consider the position of YAHWEH[1] to such an empire. Even if certain conclusions were avoided or refused, they were at least formulated, and would be sure to recur.[2] Thus in the book of Jonah we have an attempt to picture YAHWEH as the Father and Ruler of all the nations, and the Jewish duty to preach to them. It found no acceptance at the time of its writing,[3] but other minds must have pondered the same idea. Its familiarity as a story not only allowed our Lord to draw an illustration from it, but it must have had much weight in influencing minds towards the new teaching. Thus the Jews first learned that isolation of nationality or religion was impossible; that they were inevitably, whether independent or no, part of a great commonwealth of nations, and monotheism will, somehow and somewhen, compel them to try to make their religion universal too.

But the second stage of the process followed; they learned that the religious bond was stronger than that of blood. Not a few of high rank, the professional ministers of religion not excepted,

[1] This form will be used throughout as a phonetic representation of the Sacred Tetragrammaton incorrectly transcribed as JEHOVAH.

[2] Cf. Ottley, *op. cit.* pp. 159-62.

[3] Cheyne, *Jewish Religious Life after the Exile*, p. 49, "An exclusive policy was necessary at this juncture in order that at a later day more catholic principles might become possible."

were willing enough to purchase privileges from Antiochus Epiphanes at the price of apostasy from God. This compelled men to consider whether as individuals they would follow their national leaders when such a course ran contrary to their religious convictions. The majority found adherence to YAHWEH strong enough to make them refuse such compliance, and a great step in the denationalization of religion was made.

The third stage, and an even bitterer lesson, comes when prosperity makes apostates as well as persecution. The later kings of the house of Hashmon were a distinct hindrance to the religion of the nation. So the better spirits found that even semi-independence will not make a perfect state; that it was better to be kingless than faithless. They learned to rank fidelity to God higher than political advantage; they still longed for freedom and a king, but only a supernatural Messiah could now realize their desire.

Another stage was reached when the manifest indifference of YAHWEH to their temporal condition was fully realized. Whether shown in the desecrations of Antiochus, or the cruelty and oppression of their successive masters, Jew or Gentile, the persistent slavery of the Holy City, or Pompey's unpunished sacrilege, this realization gradually but definitely extinguished the idea of a Deity careful for His own or His people's dignity on earth.

Slowly but surely, even if it did not reach quite

to the realization that "My kingdom is not of this world," it became clear to the best minds among the Jews that only by a steady progress along the lines of individual morality and individual responsibility, as had been the teaching of Ezekiel, could the nation be in any true sense the people for God's own possession. Gallantly, and with no small measure of success, was the effort made;[1] teaching and example, an ever-improving individual morality, became increasingly important. And we find the Jew, thus marked by his religion, ready to take that position of toleration in the Roman Empire which this conception of religion at once wrung from the authorities and enabled him to accept. This same position in the main was adopted by the earliest Christians, and they owed also to the same Jewish example that toleration which sheltered the infant Church during its earliest and most critical years.

The moral progress resulting from this concentration on the training of individuals bore striking fruit when the Gospel message came. We can hardly imagine what would have been the reception of our Lord had He come to speak to the men of Ezra's day. But instead of the half-heathen folk who returned from Babylon,[2] barely able to comply

[1] Herford, *Pharisaism*, p. 74, "Ezra, by means of the Torah, and expressly and intentionally by that means, drove all this home to the heart of the individual Jew, and so wrought it into the very texture of his religious nature that it has remained there ever since."

[2] Cheyne, *op. cit.* p. 9, "The Jews of Judaea at the beginning of our period were poor specimens of religious humanity."

with Nehemiah's enforcement of the Sabbath, we have a keen and well-instructed people who were baptized in crowds by John, who flocked to hear the preaching of the Prophet of Nazareth, who spent days in the wilds listening to the new message, and though they did not all become disciples yet the foundations were laid for the rapid spread of Christianity a few years later. All this was at least indirectly due to the changed political outlook of the Jewish race.

Nor were external circumstances having less influence in another way. These same centuries cover the great days of Greece and Rome; and though the Jews rightly enough resisted the Hellenization of Antiochus, they were by no means left uninfluenced by the more general tendencies of the rising tide of civilization.[1] Greek thought reached them mainly through the Diaspora (*v. inf.*). But though there was always a difference between the Jew in his own land and in other parts of the Empire, still problems and ideas from Gentile sources did reach even the Palestinian Jews just when the Pax Romana was bringing them time and quiet to consider them; and the increase of comfort and security (always needed

[1] Herford, *op. cit.* p. 34, "But when . . . the influence of Greek ideas and practices began to be felt, a serious danger arose which threatened the very existence of Judaism." P. 36, "Probably no class of society was wholly immune from it." Cf. Burkitt, *op. cit.* p. 36. Ottley, *op. cit.* p. 174, "Thus the compilation of the Hebrew Wisdom literature, and its translation into Greek, mark a new stage in the advance of Judaism towards the position of a universal religion."

for the advancement of thought and learning) did produce the requisite men to grapple with the new ideas,[1] thus providing better teaching for all.

B. The Diaspora[2]

Before the Exile the Jews had been a remarkably self-contained people, living in the mountains between the Dead Sea and the Philistine Plain, a quiet, persevering, agricultural folk, wringing a hard-earned harvest from an unpromising soil. They caused occasional difficulty in the *haute politique* of Egypt, Assyria, or Babylon, by reason of their position as a buffer state between these mighty empires; now and again under a warlike king they would defend their fastnesses with some vigour; but as a rule they were a very insignificant tribe indeed, and much resemble in both political and social conditions the Swiss of the later Middle Ages.[3]

But after the Exile all this was changed. There were Jews almost everywhere. Many never returned from Babylon, and formed strong colonies on the great plains of Mesopotamia. Others had taken refuge in Egypt after the murder of Gedaliah,

[1] Muirhead, *Eschatology of Jesus*, p. 76, ". . . Apocalyptic literature . . . marks the beginning in Jewish history, and so in the religious history of the world, of new ideas, or, at any rate, a new development of idea regarding *God* and the *world* and *life*."

[2] See Schürer's article in the extra volume of Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*; and G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, vol. 2, pp. 390 ff.

[3] Two apparently very ancient Jewish colonies in Egypt form but a slight exception to confirm the general picture given above of the Jew of Old Testament times.

and numbers were forcibly transported thither in later troubles, while it was ever a ready refuge for any whose position in his native land had become intolerable; so that in Alexandria and elsewhere the Jews swarmed, and there was even an attempt to set up a Temple and Priesthood at Leontopolis (as had already been done, it would seem, in one of the ancient enclaves mentioned on page 9, note 3). Necessity or choice (after about 300 B.C. largely the latter) likewise carried them to almost all parts of the ancient world, and the Jew is a familiar figure in the literature of the early days of the Roman Empire. Thus from being a small and self-contained agricultural people, by the first century of our era the Jewish race had become numerous, widespread, and cosmopolitan,[1] and above all a trading people of a shrewd and profit-making type in the midst of a population mainly despising trade as only fit for slaves.

It was in these numerous colonies (called collectively the "Diaspora") that Jewish thought was touched and influenced by the mental riches of her neighbours, especially the Greeks; the more so that the greatest focus of Jewish life outside Palestine, Alexandria, had in a measure become the successor of Athens as the centre of Hellenic culture.[2] In some respects Judaism was opposed

[1] Josephus, *Ant.* 14. 7. 2, quoting Strabo. Cicero, *Pro Flacco*, c. 28, § 67, "Cum aurum Iudaeorum nomine quotannis ex Italia et ex omnibus nostris provinciis Hierosolymam exportari soleret, . . ."

[2] G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, vol. 2, p. 367, "Of all the movements of

and remained hostile to Hellenism, but that there was a great and real Greek influence is shown by the writings of Philo alone. Another mine of new thought was afforded to the Jews in Persia; very much of the development in angelology and the related demonology came from this source and reached Judaism through the Jews of the Dispersion[1] in Mesopotamia and its neighbourhood.

It was only natural that the Jews of Palestine were less touched by these outside influences, and the non-Palestinians more so.[2] This is typified by their language, Aramaic (in spite of much bilingualism) being the native tongue of the former, Hellenistic Greek exclusively of the latter.[3]

This Hellenizing greatly facilitated the task of the first preachers of Christianity outside Palestine. Though mainly the Apostle of the Gentiles, yet

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history, none are more fitted to attract our curiosity than those by which Jew and Greek first came into contact; when the minds were confronted and the spiritual heritages began to be exchanged, whose concurrence and interaction were destined to exercise so enormous an influence upon civilization."

[1] See Hastings, *D.B.* vol. 4, p. 988, "Zoroastrianism," and vol. 5, p. 286, "Angelology," p. 288, "Demonology."

[2] See Oesterley, *Last Things*, pp. 6-11. They are called Ἑβραῖοι (Acts 6. 1) as opposed to the Hellenistic Jews outside Palestine, and St. Paul seems to claim that he is not a provincial but a "Hebrew" and a son of "Hebrews" (Phil. 3. 5).

[3] See, however, Prof. Roberts' persistent claim for the almost universal use of Greek in Palestine as well. The case for Aramaic is in the Introduction to Dalman's *Words of Jesus*. G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, vol. 2, p. 395, "But, above all, the Jewish Diaspora added another language to their own. As their fathers of the Babylonian captivity had accepted Aramean, the *lingua franca* of the time, so these new exiles accepted and employed Greek."

to no small extent did St. Paul appeal to these same Hellenized Jews, for he was himself a Jew of the Dispersion, thoroughly steeped in Alexandrian thought (though his Palestinian training gave him equally the strictly Rabbinic point of view). To a considerable extent they would not listen, and stirred up persecution; but there were many converts nevertheless, and they doubtless were attracted by the familiar form of the message. We cannot read the Acts without seeing how large a proportion these Dispersion Jews formed of the earliest Christian congregations; there are prominent names, such as Aquila and Priscilla;[1] Apollos;[2] Crispus[3] and Sosthenes,[4] rulers of the Synagogue at Corinth; "many of the Jews and devout proselytes" at Pisidian Antioch;[5] a "great multitude" (Jews and Greeks) at Iconium,[6] and though there were but "some" at Thessalonica,[7] there were "many" again at Beroea.[8]

And it was this same Dispersion life which fitted St. Paul for his especial task of presenting the Gospel message to the Gentile, and particularly the Hellenic world. His tools were ready to hand, and there was no need of the almost impossibly long period of preparation of thought and idea for assimilating his teaching to their minds, as this preparation had been slowly and thoroughly performed by some centuries of contact between the

[1] Ac. 18. 2. [2] Ac. 18. 24. [3] Ac. 18. 8. [4] Ac. 18. 17.
[5] Ac. 13. 43. [6] Ac. 14. 1. [7] Ac. 17. 4. [8] Ac. 17. 12.

Jews of the Diaspora and the Gentiles among whom they lived.[1]

The Jewish colony formed the first and obvious place to begin missionary work, and the measure of attraction which the Jews had already exercised over the minds of many of their heathen neighbours made some avenues of approach for the new teaching, when it appeared from the same quarters, and, making many of the same assumptions, with similar attractiveness to their minds.

One further advantage accrued to the early Church from its preaching to "the Jew first"; it confused Christian and Jew in the eyes of the Roman government during a decade or two, and secured to the newer communities for some time the toleration which was granted to the Jews throughout the Roman Empire, a toleration chiefly won and most needed by the Jews of the Diaspora. This advantage lasted almost to the fall of Jerusalem, and was invaluable to the infant Church; St. Paul markedly acknowledges it, alike in his writings (especially 2 Th. 2. 7) and by his scrupulous deference to, and trust in, the power of the Caesars.[2]

[1] Deissmann, *New Light on the New Testament*, p. 30, ". . . an Aramaic Gospel in the hands of the Christian missionary meant the impossibility of all Christian propaganda in a world which was at the same time the Greek world . . . Christianity would have remained a Galilean sect . . ."

[2] This, according to Liberty, *Political Relations of Christ's Ministry*, was a continuation of our Lord's desire to use the Roman power by giving it a true religion through Judaism. If this be so, the providing of the Roman Empire and bringing it into the position of Jewish Suzerain is a further part of the Praeparatio Evangelica.

C. Proselytes

Before the Exile there were no Proselytes; to quote the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*: "Pre-Exilic Judaism had but little reason to seek proselytes or concern itself with their status and reception; that the aboriginal population was looked upon with suspicion was due to their constituting a constant peril to the monotheistic religion."[1]

But as Israel after the Exile became a church rather than a nation, the possibility of converts came to be considered; the two books of Jonah and Ruth[2] give testimony to a desire to bring the nations to the obedience of Yahweh and His Law, and some passages in deutero-Isaiah have the same import.[3] The danger, however, of swamping Judaism from without was by no means removed, and it became acute in the Hellenistic movement under Antiochus Epiphanes.[4] Thus the section who preferred to keep the Law as the sole prerogative of born Israelites had much to commend it, and for long controlled Jewish action.[5] Strangely enough the first considerable move to include non-Jews in

[1] *J.E.* vol. 10, p. 220.

[2] Both written in the late Persian period. G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, vol. 2, p. 353.

[3] Is. 42. 6; 49. 6; 60. 3.

[4] Herford, *Pharisaism*, p. 69, "It is indeed difficult to believe that [the Jews] would have survived, if the policy of Ezra had not been carried out." G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, vol. 2, p. 338, ". . . for Nehemiah and Ezra to have yielded to the attempts to mingle the Jews with *the peoples of the land* would have been fatal both to the nation and the religion of Israel."

[5] *J.E.*, *ut supra*.

the Covenant came as a direct result of that very exclusiveness which had withstood the Hellenist danger; the new-found freedom under the Maccabees led to the conquest of the neighbouring tribes, and these were compelled to adopt Jewish faith, worship, and practice.[1]

At the same time, as many ancient religions declined in influence, not a few turned readily to the belief in the One God of the Jew,[2] sometimes accepting the whole religion,[3] sometimes merely becoming monotheists and perhaps attending the worship of the Synagogue.[4] To make any definite distinction in name seems impossible from the conflicting uses of such words as *σεβόμενοι*,[5] but there seems no doubt that those who were fully admitted into the Covenant were required to make the same preparations for acceptance as the born Jew, viz.

[1] Josephus, *Ant.* 13. 9. 1 (vol. 3, p. 190), Ὑρκανὸς . . . ἅπαντας τοὺς Ἰδουμαίους ὑποχειρίους ποιησάμενος ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτοῖς μένειν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, εἰ περιτέμνοιντο τὰ αἰδοῖα καὶ τοῖς Ἰουδαίων νομίμοις χρῆσθαι θέλοιεν. 13. 11. 3 (vol. 3, p. 201), . . . πολεμήσας Ἰτουραίους . . . ἀναγκάσας τε τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας, εἰ βούλονται μένειν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, περιτέμνεσθαι καὶ κατὰ τοὺς Ἰουδαίων νόμους ζῆν.

[2] *Apion*, 2. 39 (vol. 6, p. 288, § 282), οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ πλήθεσιν ἤδη πολὺς ζῆλος γέγονεν ἐκ μακροῦ τῆς ἡμετέρας εὐσεβείας οὐδ' ἔστιν οὐ πόλις Ἑλλήνων οὐδ' ἡτισοῦν οὐδὲ βάρβαρος, οὐδὲ ἓν ἔθνος, ἔνθα μὴ τὸ τῆς ἑβδομάδος, ἣν ἀργοῦμεν ἡμεῖς, ἔθος οὐ διαπεφοίτηκε, καὶ αἱ νηστεῖαι καὶ λύχνων ἀνακαύσεις καὶ πολλὰ τῶν εἰς βρῶσιν ἡμῖν οὐ νενομισμένων παρατετήρηται. § 283, μιμεῖσθαι δὲ πειρῶνται.

[3] *e.g.* Izates, *Ant.* 20. 2 (vol. 4, p. 275).

[4] *e.g.* Cornelius and the Centurion of Galilee. *B.J.* 7. 3. 3 (vol. 6, p. 136, § 45), ἀεί τε προσαγόμενοι ταῖς θρησκείαις πολὺ πλῆθος Ἑλλήνων κἀκείνους τρόπῳ τινὶ μοῖραν αὐτῶν πεποίηντο.

[5] *Ency. Bibl.* 3. 3902. Schürer, *History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ*, 2. 2. 315.

Circumcision, Bath of Purification, and Sacrifice.[1] In time, as the first only applied to one sex, and sacrifice was unknown outside Jerusalem, the form tended to restrict itself to Baptism alone.[2]

Among the Jews of the Dispersion the objections to proselytes were of no force, and the addition of numbers was a source of strength to the little community; so the zeal for proselytes, and their numbers, are mainly to be found outside Palestine.[3] To this zeal, and the large numbers of the converts, Josephus[4] bears witness, and there is the further testimony of many Pagan writers to the same fact.[5]

[1] *J.E.*, *ut supra*. Schürer, *op. cit.* 2. 2. 319.

[2] *J.E.*, *ut supra*. *Orac. Sib.* 4. 165 (*Ap. and Pseud.* 2. 396), "and wash your whole bodies in ever-running rivers." This last may refer only to Jewish purification after admission.

[3] Jos. *Ap.* 2. 39, *v. supra*. G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, vol. 2, p. 398, "The Jews of the new Dispersion could not have trodden those roads . . without some sense of their obligation to this duty, and some endeavours to fulfil it."

[4] *Apion*, 2. 10 (vol. 6, p. 261, § 123), πολλοὶ παρ' αὐτῶν εἰς τοὺς ἡμετέρους νόμους συνέβησαν εἰσελθεῖν, καί τινες μὲν ἔμειναν, εἰσὶ δ' οἳ τὴν καρτερίαν οὐχ ὑπομείναντες πάλιν ἀπέστησαν. Cf. *B.J.* 2. 20. 2.

[5] Strabo (apud Jos. *Ant.* 14. 7. 2), Seneca (apud Aug. *De Civ. Dei*, 6. 11), "cum interim usque eo sceleratissimae gentis consuetudo convaluit, ut per omnes iam terras recepta sit; victi victoribus leges dederunt." Dio Cassius, 37. 17, . . . Ἰουδαῖοι . . . ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους ὅσοι τὰ νόμιμα αὐτῶν, καίπερ ἀλλοεθνεῖς ὄντες, ζηλοῦσι.

Hor. *Sat.* 1. 9. 68:

> Memini bene, sed meliore
> Tempore dicam; hodie tricesima sabbata; vin tu
> Curtis Iudaeis oppedere?

Juv. *Sat.* 14. 96:

> Quidam sortiti metuentem sabbata patrem,
> Nil praeter nubes et caeli numen adorant,
> Nec distare putant humana carne suillam,
> Qua pater abstinuit; mox et praeputia ponunt;

Thus was the Christian Church given the model for the conversion of the world, and the time-honoured ceremony of initiation. This last had been thrust upon their notice by John the Baptist,[1] and there was some use of it during our Lord's own ministry.[2] There was some hesitation among the Palestinian Christians about extending their labours outside Israel (the Cornelius incident shows this[3]), but there was no such reluctance on the part of the converts of the Diaspora; even those residing in Jerusalem readily elect a proselyte as one of the Seven.[4] It was in the Dispersion, at Antioch, that the first attempt was made to preach to the Gentile proper,[5] and it was at Antioch too that there was great joy when decision was made not to enforce circumcision on converts to Christianity.[6]

Among the proselytes was found the readiest audience for the preaching of the Gospel; even on its first proclaiming at Pentecost, they were in numbers great enough to warrant the phrase "Jews and Proselytes" being used of the crowd.[7] St. Paul addresses them separately from the Jews,[8] twice

Romanas autem soliti contemnere leges,
Iudaicum ediscunt et servant ac metuunt ius,
Tradidit arcano quodcunque volumine Moyses:
"Non monstrare vias, eadem nisi sacra colenti,
Quaesitum ad fontem solos deducere verpos."
Sed pater in causa, cui septima quaeque fuit lux
Ignava, et partem vitae non attigit ullam.

[1] Mt. 3. 6. [2] Jn. 4. 1, 2. [3] Ac. 10. [4] Ac. 6. 5.
[5] Ac. 11. 20 (or, if this be rejected, Ac. 13. 7, St. Paul in Cyprus).
[6] Ac. 15. 31. [7] Ac. 2. 10.
[8] Ac. 13. 16, 26; 17. 17.

takes up his abode in the house of a proselyte,[1] and we read of πολὺ πλῆθος of the proselytes becoming Christians.[2]

Baptism (with a fuller meaning no doubt, but obviously taken from the Jewish model) is insisted on from the first,[3] and becomes the normal form of admission,[4] as in the case of proselytes. There had been a further use of it (in the case of Apollos and the others at Ephesus) as an initiation to a higher mode of living, admittedly on the old model used by the Baptist.[5]

These two developments of Jewish practice, Proselytizing and Baptism, may be taken as a considerable share of the work done by the Jews of the Greek period in preparing the way for Christ and His teaching.

[1] Ac. 16. 15 ; 18. 7. [2] Ac. 17. 4. [3] Ac. 2. 38.
[4] Heb. 6. 2. [5] Ac. 18. 25 ; 19. 3.

CHAPTER II

WORSHIP AND EDUCATION

In pre-Exilic Judaism much was left to the traditional duties of the father to teach his children and to lead their worship. The faith and practice thus delivered seems to have been inherited ancestor-worship; and this never fails to meet with the disapproval of the prophets, while the prevailing low moral tone shows only too clearly its worthlessness as a religious force; but there is no alternative offered. As the purer faith spread and the cult became restricted to the sacrifices in the Jerusalem Temple, worship became a very rare event with most people. Teaching came to the same pass; the older beliefs were discredited, and the newer not really learnt; so religious instruction was normally confined to an occasional visit of an itinerant prophet.

During the Exile there is little change; there are some passages which may refer to meetings for worship,[1] but they are vague and uncertain.[2]

[1] Is. 56. 7; 58. 4.

[2] *Jewish Ency.* vol. 11, pp. 619 ff.

After the return, however, there is a change; Ezra saw the need for systematic teaching if the people were not to relapse into the same semi-heathen condition as heretofore.[1] The Law is solemnly read and expounded to the people in an assembly,[2] and though the restoration of the Temple might have been expected to tend in the old direction of restricting all worship to itself, this meeting of Ezra's seems to have set a precedent (it may have been following an earlier one of which we know nothing) for meetings for instruction and worship. A little later we find distinct mentions both of this practice and of the building in which the meetings were held.

A. The Synagogue

It may be assumed, then, that the Synagogue, so inextricably mixed with later Jewish life and thought,[3] had its origin in post-Exilic days.[4] At first the meetings for prayer and worship followed

[1] Herford, *Pharisaism*, p. 10, "Ezra had it clear in his mind that if Israel was to survive at all, it must resolutely cut itself off from all possible contact with what was not Israel . . ."; p. 12, "What Ezra did was to set up a written authority as the guide of personal conduct for each individual Jew." [2] Neh. 8. 1-8; 9. 3.

[3] Herford, *op. cit.* p. 30, "The institution of the Synagogue provided a means of developing the spiritual life of the people in a way that the Temple ritual hardly could and certainly did not do . . . the religion of Torah learned to do without the Temple, but it never dreamed of doing without the Synagogue."

[4] Abrahams, *Pharisaism and the Gospels*, p. 1, "We may confidently assert that the Synagogue was a Palestinian institution of the Persian period."

exactly Ezra's model; they were held in the open air, and even in the Temple precincts. But though such persisted to the last days of Jerusalem, and the Temple became in truth an *οἶκος προσευχῆς*,[1] as a rule a building for this special purpose was erected. There was a *προσευχή* in Egypt under Ptolemy and Berenice, and in 3 Macc. 7. 20 we read of a Synagogue at Ptolemais under Ptolemy IV. Though a product of Palestine,[2] the Synagogue is mainly the mark of the Judaism of the Diaspora.

These meetings for prayer and reading of the Law are mentioned in 1 Macc. 3. 44, 48,[3] and the singing of hymns in the same book, 4. 24[4] (cf. 2 Macc. 8. 23,[5] 10. 7[6]). They have so much become ancient custom in later days that Philo[7] and Josephus[8] ascribe the institution without hesitation

[1] Abrahams, *ibid.* p. 2, "But the fact seems to be that the institution of the Synagogue was earlier than the erection of places of worship. In the Temple itself, the reading of the Law was conducted by Ezra in the open courts, which remained the scene of the prayer-meetings to the end, as the Rabbinic sources amply demonstrate (*e.g. Mishnah Sukkah*, chs. iv.-v.; cf. Sirach 50. 5-21; 1 Macc. 4. 55). So too with the first prayer-meetings in the 'provinces.'" This seems to be the case even in St. Paul's day at Philippi (Acts 16. 13); another similar case of early date is at Mizpah (1 Macc. 3. 46).

[2] See note above (n. 4, p. 20).

[3] *Καὶ ἠθροίσθησαν ἡ συναγωγὴ . . . τοῦ προσεύξασθαι καὶ αἰτῆσαι ἔλεον καὶ οἰκτειρμούς . . . καὶ ἐξεπέτασαν τὸ βιβλίον τοῦ νόμου . . .*

[4] *Καὶ ἐπιστρέψαντες ὕμνουν καὶ ηὐλόγουν εἰς οὐρανόν "Οτι καλὸν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ.*

[5] *Παραναγνοὺς τὴν ἱερὰν βίβλον . . .*

[6] *Ηὐχαρίστουν τῷ εὐοδώσαντι . . .*

[7] Philo, *de Sept.* 6 (vol. 5, p. 102, § 62 l. 1), *ἀναπέπταται γοῦν ταῖς ἑβδόμαις μυρία κατὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν διδασκαλεῖα φρονήσεως κ.τ.λ.*

[8] Josephus, *contra Apion.* 2. 17 (vol. 6, p. 270), *ὁ δ' ἡμέτερος νομοθέτης . . . ἑκάστης ἑβδομάδος τῶν ἄλλων ἔργων ἀφειμένους, ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρόασιν τοῦ*

to Moses. St. James seems to have had the same idea, and in any case witnesses to comparative antiquity in his day.[1] This confirms the supposition that a beginning was made in early post-Exilic days.

Synagogues had increased to a very considerable number in our Lord's time, both in Palestine and out of it; Acts bears sufficient testimony to their number and their activity. Every town and probably every village in the Holy Land would have one, and in Jerusalem quite a number.[2] In the Diaspora it would depend on the size and wealth of the Jewish colony. It was always a valued work of piety to build one.[3]

There seems no reason to doubt that the later practice of making the Synagogue a centre for other than religious instruction held good then, and our Lord and His disciples were pupils of the Synagogue school.

Direct evidence of this school is, however, scanty.[4] Some reference to teaching may be found in Deut. 31. 9, 33. 10; Jer. 2. 8, 18. 8; Mal. 2. 6; 2 Chr. 17. 7, all of late date, while Jub. 31. 15 is later still.[5] There are references to teaching scattered about the Wisdom literature,

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νόμου ἐκέλευσε συλλέγεσθαι καὶ τοῦτον ἀκριβῶς ἐκμανθάνειν . . . Ant. 16. 2. 4 (vol. 4, p. 7), *τήν θ' ἑβδόμην τῶν ἡμερῶν ἀνίεμεν τῇ μαθήσει τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐθῶν καὶ νόμων . . . παλαιὰ δ' ἡμῖν, κἂν μή τισι δοκῇ.*

[1] Ac. 15. 21.

[2] The Talmudic statement of 480, copied by so many English writers, will not bear examination.

[3] Lk. 7. 5.

[4] Schürer, *J.P.* 2. 2. 47 ff.

[5] *Jewish Ency.* 5. 42.

but Sir. 30. 1-13 tends to show that this only refers to the old parental duty in the matter.[1] 1 Macc. 1. 14[2] may be understood to imply that there were *Jewish* schools already. This is very probable for another reason: Josephus attributes educational enactments to Moses as he does the worship of the Synagogue, so that the school was no novelty in his day.[3] This confirms to some extent the tradition of the Talmud of Jerusalem that elementary schools were made compulsory about 75 B.C.[4] Somewhere about the same time must have arisen the custom that any Jew not dependent on labour for livelihood should learn a handicraft.[5] This provision seems taken for granted in the New Testament, and gave a very different view of labour to the early Church from that of the Greek, who despised all such work as servile.

The teaching too, though it was mostly rote learning, was very thorough, and made the pupil well conversant with the Scriptures.[6]

[1] Hastings, *D.B.* vol. 1, p. 649; *Ency. Bibl.* vol. 2, p. 1195.

[2] Καὶ ᾠκοδόμησαν γυμνάσιον ἐν Ἰεροσολύμοις κατὰ τὰ νόμιμα τῶν ἐθνῶν.

[3] Josephus, *Ant.* 4. 8. 12 (vol. 1, p. 242, § 211), μανθανέτωσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ παῖδες πρῶτον τοὺς νόμους . . . *Apion*, 2. 25 (vol. 6, p. 275, § 204), καὶ γράμματα παιδεύειν ἐκέλευσε, περί τε τοὺς νόμους ἀναστρέφεσθαι καὶ τῶν προγόνων τὰς πράξεις ἐπίστασθαι. . . . *Vita*, 2 (vol. 4, p. 314, § 8), ἐγὼ . . . εἰς μεγάλην παιδείας προύκοπτον ἐπίδοσιν. . . .

[4] Schürer, *J.P.* 2. 2. 49.

[5] *Mishnah Qiddushin*, 4. 14 (*Babylonische Talmud*, Ed. L. Goldschmidt, vol. 5, p. 996), "Let a person teach his son a clean handicraft," ילמד אדם את בנואומנות נקיה (some authorities add וקלה "and easy").

[6] Philo, *Legatio ad Gaium*, 31 (vol. 6, p. 194, § 210 l. 24), θεόχρηστα γὰρ λόγια τοὺς νόμους εἶναι ὑπολαμβάνοντες καὶ τοῦτο ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας τὸ μάθημα παιδευθέντες . . . Josephus, *Apion*, 2. 18 (vol. 6, p. 271, § 178),

Higher education too was provided for, though again of a peculiar kind. Jews with some training in Gentile universities could come (as St. Paul did [1]) to Jerusalem for instruction under the great teachers of the Beth-ham-midrash or College of Scribes.[2]

Another very important part of the Synagogue's activity is to be found in local government. This was alike the case whether we are considering a community where the Jews formed a preponderating majority or the reverse. In the latter case they were driven to organize themselves for mutual protection, much as the Christian population does in countries under Turkish rule to-day (the "rayah" system); and the analogy holds good, as a rule, that the Roman Government, like that of the Ottomans, used this organization as their sole means of official intercourse.[3] Now the natural, nay, the inevitable, focus for this was the Synagogue; those who were of ability to manage the little property held for religious purposes, and to organize the services, were naturally chosen to represent the little community in more strictly secular matters. In the case of Palestine, where

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ἡμῶν δ' ὀντινοῦν τις ἔροιτο τοὺς νόμους, ῥᾷον ἂν εἴποι πάντας ἢ τοὔνομα τὸ ἑαυτοῦ. Cf. 2 Ti. 3. 15, *ὅτι ἀπὸ βρέφους ἱερὰ γράμματα οἶδας.*

[1] Ac. 22. 3.

[2] Josephus, *B.J.* 1. 33. 2 (vol. 5, p. 135, § 648), *δύ' ἦσαν σοφισταὶ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν . . . μεγίστης ἠξιωμένοι δόξης . . . τούτοις οὐκ ὀλίγοι προσῆσαν τῶν νέων ἐξηγουμένοις τοὺς νόμους . . .*

[3] This had been the usage of Alexander, who used a Jewish Ethnarch in Alexandria as his official. See Swete, *Introd. to O.T. in Greek*, p. 6.

the Jews were semi-independent, and were allowed a very large measure of self-government, much the same was the case, but it seems that the process of selection was reversed ; the principal inhabitants became the local magistrates, and were then, and for that reason, deemed fit and proper persons to be trustees of the ecclesiastical property, and to control the order of worship. They not only held the power of disposing of such property,[1] but the power of anathema and excommunication (to use the later phrases) were also in their hands.[2]

In both cases the decisions of this little body of trustees seem to have been accepted by the Roman officials as a sort of compulsory or racial arbitration, and enforced accordingly.[3] From the two extreme cases being so similar, there would be little likelihood of the arrangement failing to be adopted in more mixed communities, or of any alternative being attempted.

The Synagogue too was a very new development in the history of religious worship.[4]

[1] Schürer, *op. cit.* 2. 2. 59, 60. [2] *Ibid.*

[3] This seems to have been the attitude of both Pilate and Gallio, and of the two Procurators who successively tried St. Paul. The question of the jurisdiction and powers of the Sanhedrim are dealt with in an appendix to *Political Relations of Christ's Ministry* (S. Liberty). See also, for a short account of the Jewish position in Alexandria, Swete, *Introd. to O. T. in Greek*, p. 6.

[4] Herford, *op. cit.* p. 79, "So far as I know, there had never been, in the world's history, any form of congregational worship till the Synagogue appeared." *Ibid.* p. 31, "With the Synagogue were associated the devotional outpourings of the Psalmists and the earliest liturgy, also the regular reading of the Scriptures. These, together with

Ritual in its earliest form is the δρώμενον or performance of a physical fact anticipated or repeated.[1] This may be a mere rehearsal of the hunting of an animal for food or clothing, or a recitation in action of the incidents of the hunt to the assembled tribe afterwards. In a more developed form it will be symbolical of the processes of Nature, with an idea of thereby assuring the crops and the weather needful for their growth. Thus will be enacted the progression through death to new life and fertility, as in the Osiris and Adonis cults. Both these cults were known to ancient Israel as they were practised by their near neighbours, and we have abundance of evidence in the Old Testament to show how great a hold these forms of Nature-worship (under the names of Baal,[2] Tammuz,[3] and the like) had on the affections of the people.

The Prophets who led the nation to a pure monotheism unceasingly denounce these cults and all the observances connected with them. High Places[4] with their Pillars[5] or Monoliths must be

exhortation or instruction, gave substance and meaning to the idea of public worship, which, in a form hitherto unknown in the ancient world, was in itself one of the most important of Jewish institutions."

[1] See J. Harrison, *Ancient Art and Ritual* (Home University Lib.), and E. O. James, *Primitive Ritual and Belief*.

[2] Hos. 2. 17, "I will take away the names of the Baalim out of her mouth."

[3] Ezek. 8. 14, ". . . the women weeping for Tammuz."

[4] Ezek. 6. 3, "I will destroy your high places."

[5] Hos. 10. 2, "He shall spoil their pillars."

done away, Baal must be called Bosheth,[1] the sacred trees (Asherim[2]) must be cut down lest the Maypole dance[3] continue around them. YAHWEH abhors New Moons and Sabbaths (*i.e.* lunations), says Isaiah.[4] Sacrifices are a snare, for they tend to keep up the importance of the old Shrines and the Seasonal Feasts; so they also are denounced as unrequired and misleading.[5]

Moreover, all this Nature-worship tended not only to permit a great laxity in the moral sphere, but even to hallow the wildest expressions of carnal desire, with the consequence that the grossest immorality was practised under the aegis of religion, with the sacred sites as its *locale* and the religious festivals as the occasion.[6] The Prophets know this well, and never cease to upbraid Israel for the abominations of these cults — none perhaps more effectively than Hosea, who takes as his text the allegory of the betrothed Nation in its sin.

Much was done in the time of Hezekiah and Josiah to purify the cult. The temptation to sin

[1] Thus the son and grandson of Saul, Ishbaal (1 Chr. 8. 33) and Mephibaal (cf. 1 Chr. 8. 34, the same or another son of Jonathan), become Ishbosheth (2 Sa. 2. 8) and Mephibosheth (2 Sa. 4. 4). Gideon, surnamed Jerubbaal (Judg. 6. 32), becomes Jerubbesheth (2 Sa. 11. 21).

[2] 2 Ki. 23. 7, ". . . women wove hangings for the Asherah."

[3] For such is the true origin of what is now a pretty custom.

[4] Is. 1. 13, 14, ". . . new moon and sabbath. . . . Your new moons and your appointed feasts my soul hateth."

[5] Is. 1. 12, 13, ". . . who hath required this. . . . Bring no more vain oblations."

[6] For some modern instances among primitive tribes, see James, *op. cit.* ch. 4, esp. p. 55.

was largely removed by the abolition of the local sanctuaries and their feasts, and the idea of propitiation is brought to the fore in the sacrifices at the central shrine. These were not done away with as the prophets had counselled (perhaps this was too much a counsel of perfection), but developed in idea from the more primitive type of a sacred meal upon or with the Deity [1] (Communion in the strictest sense) to an Oblation of something typifying the worshipper and his life devoted to God's Service; so there is more emphasis on the pouring out of the blood, the burning of the fat which rises in smoke to YAHWEH in the sky, and most of all in the holocaust, which entirely prevented the eating of any part of the victim.

All this was a vast improvement. But even the finest ceremonial of oblation and propitiation did not give much help to the worshipper to carry his ideals into practice, for they were rare occasions at best, and the sins for which sacrifice was offered tended to be less moral faults than defects of ritual observance. Thus the prophetic ideal remained merely an ideal—moral service to YAHWEH was but a *desiderandum* until after the Exile.

But the Synagogue from the first kept the moral and spiritual benefit of the worshipper as its main object, and held that this was the true propitiation of YAHWEH ("to obey is better than sacrifice"),[2] essaying to accomplish its end by instruction,

[1] James, *op. cit.* ch. 9, "Sacrifice and Communion." [2] 1 Sa. 15. 22.

precept, and intercession. This "offering of a free heart"[1] and united supplications are quite unique in the Mediterranean region, and though there may be some earlier forms in India and further East, yet it is from this new development in Judaism that Europe and Christianity generally have derived an ideal of worship which has persisted with little modification (except so far as the idea of a bloodless Sacrifice has been grafted on to it).[2]

The result of this change in Jewish life is most marked—the Nature cults are heard of no more, and the Jew of the Greek period (if we except a few high-souled philosophers) is the most moral person in the world, with a wonderfully high standard kept among all classes of the community, even including their slaves.

This new development of worship was clearly understood by Jewish writers, and counted as one of the advantages of their faith: thus Philo calls the Synagogues "houses of instruction,"[3] Josephus

[1] Ps. 54. 6 (P.B.V.).

[2] It would be interesting to know whether there was any connection between the Jews of Babylon and the early followers of the Buddha. We know that the Jews learned much from Zoroastrianism, and the Punjaub is not much farther off than Persia. But it must be confessed that there is no evidence available at present, beyond the fact that a Buddhist mission from the Ganges came to the Court of Ptolemy Philadelphus (Swete, *Introd. to O.T. in Greek*, p. 16; Mahaffy, *Empire of the Ptolemies*, pp. 163 f., 170).

[3] Philo, *Vit. Mosis*, 3. 27 (vol. 4, p. 250, § 215 l. 20). § 215, *τοῦ μὲν ἡγεμόνος ὑφηγουμένου . . . ἀφ' οὗ καὶ εἰσέτι νῦν φιλοσοφοῦσι ταῖς ἑβδόμαις Ἰουδαῖοι τὴν πάτριον φιλοσοφίαν.* § 217, *τὰ γὰρ κατὰ πόλεις προσευκτήρια τί ἕτερόν ἐστιν ἢ διδασκαλεῖα φρονήσεως καὶ ἀνδρείας καὶ σωφροσύνης . . . καὶ συμπάσης ἀρετῆς. . . .*

gives the object of their meetings as "coming to hear and learn the Law,"[1] and in the New Testament διδάσκειν is always a prominent feature in its activities.[2]

This new type of worship is introduced side by side with the older forms in the Temple, and there is no attempt to make competition between the two, nor does the Temple Service seem to have been neglected in consequence of it. But by reason of its greater frequency in the life of the ordinary worshipper, the newer type tends to become the norm, and when the Temple was destroyed there was no attempt to replace it, since the Synagogue supplied all religious needs.[3]

The part played by the Synagogue and its various activities in forming the early life and literature of Christianity is very great. Much of our Lord's own work and words springs directly from this source. In the Synagogue school (for we are told that He had no higher education[4]), and by constant attendance at, and participation in, the Synagogue Services,[5] He gained that knowledge of the language of the "Law and the Prophets" which were so often on His lips, and whose authority He so strongly enforced[6] (surely

[1] *Apion*, 2. 17; see above. Ottley, *Religion of Israel*, p. 131, ". . . Synagogues . . . probably in the first instance places of instruction rather than of worship."

[2] Mt. 4. 23; Mk. 1. 21; Lk. 4. 15, 31; 6. 6; 13. 10; Jn. 6. 59; 18. 20.

[3] C. Toy, *Introduction to the History of Religions*, p. 546.

[4] Jn. 7. 15. [5] Lk. 4. 16. [6] Mt. 5. 17; Lk. 16. 17.

these are among the sayings with best claim to authenticity from their naturalness in a Jew and their unlikeliness in the Founder of a new Faith!). Some at least of His teaching, especially His first sermon at Nazareth, was given inside the Synagogue walls,[1] and He can ever count on His hearers' knowledge of the Scriptures to point His lesson ("they have Moses and the Prophets; let them hear them"[2]); moreover, though He rebukes the Pharisees for setting aside the letter of the Law in favour of a traditional interpretation,[3] still He expects and desires His disciples to follow their directions as a rule, for they are the authorized expounders of the Mosaic system,[4] and He even bids greater care be observed than the meticulous system they had built up.[5]

It was His example of regular Synagogue worship[6] which commended worship on similar lines to Gentile converts, and effectually checked any desire on the part of Jewish Christians to abandon the practice.

And, as the Master, so were the Disciples; they too learned in the Synagogue school, and one at least received the long and elaborate training of a Scribe.[7] Their knowledge of the Scriptures too is plain on every page of the New Testament,

[1] Mk. 1. 21; 3. 1; 6. 2.
[2] Lk. 16. 29.
[3] Mt. 15. 3; Mk. 7. 9.
[4] Mt. 23. 2.
[5] Mt. 23. 23; Lk. 11. 42; Mt. 5. 20.
[6] Lk. 4. 16.
[7] Ac. 22. 3, . . . *ἀνατεθραμμένος δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ παρὰ τοὺς πόδας Γαμαλιήλ*, . . .

and holds good of the writer, whether or no he gives the exact words of the speaker he reports. As will be seen later, the use of the Scriptures in the Synagogue worship eventually had a large share in calling forth new writings, and formed alike a model and a productive mine for extracts. The Synagogue type of Service, the new instructional type, and much of its form passed over direct into Christian use;[1] the Missa Catachumenorum and the Divine Office (to use the titles of rather later development) are only differenced from the worship of the Synagogue by their Christian lections; and in the case of the latter the Jewish matter predominates (owing to the large use of the Psalter). The debt thus owing to the prototype is very great.

It is to the Synagogue also that the Apostolic missionaries go[2] to preach the Gospel "to the Jew first";[3] the first converts are there won; and the little community very naturally organizes itself on the same lines. Where, as at Corinth,[4] an ἀρχισυνάγωγος is among the converts, he will doubtless continue to preside in the Christian assembly, and model procedure by the well-known precedents

[1] Herford, *Pharisaism*, p. 81, ". . . The Christian religion took over both the idea and the form of the Synagogue, in organising its own meetings for worship, and has retained them ever since . . . the same elements which are familiar in Christian worship — hymn, prayer, Scripture reading, and sermon — are found in the earliest Synagogue services, so far back as the records go."

[2] Ac. 13. 14; 17. 1, 10; 18. 4; 19. 8.

[3] Ro. 2. 10.

[4] Ac. 18. 8.

to which he has been accustomed. In the Acts nineteen times do we read of the Synagogue, and St. James readily and naturally adopts the name itself to describe the meeting of Christians,[1] while the Epistle to the Hebrews uses the cognate word *ἐπισυναγωγή* in the same sense.[2]

B. The Sabbath

The most marked characteristic of the Jew in later times is his scrupulous care in keeping the Sabbath; it holds a prominent place on the traditional "Tables of the Law," and a large number of minute regulations gathered round it. This is practically identical with its position in New Testament times; but it is far from being ancient Hebrew custom.[3] The Prophets knew of the obligation of Sabbath-keeping[4] and desire to improve the observance of it, but their main theme in this connexion is to bewail its neglect. The pious doubtless were careful to obey the Prophets' behests,[5] but the Chronicler looks back upon the Exile as the reparation for misused Sabbaths,[6] and Ezekiel has somewhat to say in the same strain.[7]

[1] *Εἰς συναγωγὴν ὑμῶν*, Jas. 2. 2. [2] He. 10. 25.

[3] Herford, *Pharisaism*, p. 30, "I do not mean that circumcision had not been practised, nor the Sabbath observed, in times previous to Ezra, but that these became especially prominent after his time as the *sine qua non* of Judaism, essentials to be maintained at any cost."

[4] Is. 56. 2, 6; 58. 13; Jer. 17. 19-27.

[5] 2 Ki. 4. 23; 11. 7-9. [6] 2 Chr. 36. 21.

[7] Ezek. 20. 12-24; 22. 8, 26; 23. 38.

Nor can we be surprised at this when we remember the conditions of the later Jewish monarchy.

On the return from Babylon much the same neglect continued, and Nehemiah had to take stern measures for its observance, even in the matter of public market holding,[1] which would seem to have been abstained from even in the careless days before the Exile.[2] As in the matter of Idolatry, however, the post-Exilic teachers were successful in maintaining the reforms of Nehemiah; there are no denunciations of Sabbath-breaking in the last Prophets, and the restrictions have become so severe by the time of the Maccabees that numbers of Jews allowed themselves to be slaughtered rather than take up arms on the Sabbath.[3] And it seems fairly certain that, while it was a body of ultra-rigorists who cavilled at our Lord so often for breaking the petty restrictions with which they had hedged it in, both He and all the Jews did keep the day of rest with considerable strictness.[4]

This accounts for the large space given in the Gospels and elsewhere in the New Testament to the question of the Sabbath, which would otherwise hardly have appeared at all. Only Jewish

[1] Neh. 9. 14; 10. 31-33; 13. 15-22. [2] Am. 8. 5.

[3] 1 Macc. 2. 34-38. G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, vol. 2, p. 362, "There is a significant contrast between the complaints of Nehemiah and some prophets immediately before him about the popular neglect of the Sabbath, and the unanimous refusal of the nation to fight on that day, which enabled Ptolemy I., in 321, to take Jerusalem."

[4] Mt. 24. 20; Lk. 23. 54, 56; Jn. 19. 31; Ac. 1. 12. See, too, the quotations from Philo and Josephus above.

Christians ever observed it;[1] it is not mentioned in the Epistle of the Council of Jerusalem,[2] and it must have been tacitly abandoned along with circumcision. There is no sign of any religious sanction[3] of a Christian day of rest till the sixteenth century. Until then the State had provided holidays enough, and as they usually were fixed on religious festivals, there grew up a tendency for the Church to appoint new feasts and then demand their observance as public holidays. This led in time to excessive cessation of labour, and the early Protestants by reducing the holidays to Sunday on the authority of the Fourth Commandment greatly improved their financial position. But the change tended to put a Jewish emphasis on the matter, and much Sabbatarian controversy has really turned on an attempt to Judaize Christian festivals by a misuse of Biblical authority.

But, nevertheless, considerable influence was exerted by the Sabbath on early Christianity: thus, while the day of worship was chosen from among the days of the week in memory of the Resurrection, its weekly recurrence was doubtless taken for granted by those who had long been accustomed to a weekly Sabbath. We owe therefore

[1] Col. 2. 16. [2] Ac. 15. 24-29.

[3] The Constantinian regulations about Sunday are only civil action to secure for Christian festivals the same civil rights as Pagan feasts already enjoyed, and clearly show that until this time (some three hundred years after Christ) Christians had no day of rest save the Pagan holidays.

our custom of weekly worship to the Sabbath. The leisure of the Sabbath, too, largely moulded the Synagogue services, and the influence (already noticed) of these is a large, if indirect, influence of the Sabbath upon the beginnings of Christianity.

C. The Scriptures

The beginning of a new form of worship in the Synagogue has been already noticed, and in course of its development this instructional type of worship gave rise to a phenomenon enshrined in the popular phrase, "the religion of a book."

Sacred Books are a feature of almost all ancient religions,[1] but, so far as Semitic races are concerned, they were in the nature of archives, whether of law or history, to be consulted by priests and others in time of need. They had scarcely any connexion with worship, for the ritual and ceremonial of the cult were mostly traditional, and even if certain directions were to be found in the Books, yet they would be known rather by their constant use than by the reading of the original record. The Books would not be seen at public services except for a ceremonial carrying of them in procession as a kind of relic; nor would the body of worshippers be expected to have any acquaintance with their contents (the direction that the King of Israel is to make a copy of the Torah

[1] Except, of course, the most primitive, where writing is unknown.

on his accession[1] rather emphasizes this—for his office' sake, he must know the code which he is to administer—but he needs reminding of this duty, as he has no previous need of it as a worshipper, nor has he thereby gained any knowledge of its contents).

When, however, the Synagogue services made a large part of worship to consist of reading, and Jeremiah's temporary expedient became the normal mode of instruction,[2] not only did the Sacred Books receive a new use and a new honour, but a double change of great importance is made in their character.

The first was the stereotyping of the text. So long as the matter of the books was unknown to the people at large, the official custodians could alter their contents and add to their number with only their own sense of fitness as judge. But when reading begins, and copies are made for numbers of Synagogues,[3] this becomes impossible; and familiarity with the exact text will lead to the demand for scrupulous fidelity in copying; all manuscripts will have to conform rigidly to an exemplar[4] (this

[1] Deut. 17. 18-20.

[2] Jer. 36. See the quotations from Philo and Josephus above.

[3] 1 Macc. 1. 56, 57 shows that copies of the Scriptures were then so numerous and important that persecutors already desire to destroy them.

[4] The care of the Rabbis in later times to ensure this is well known; the words used above may seem rather to anticipate a later state of things, but the change from extreme laxity to the reverse must have included an intermediate stage fairly early, and the critical efforts of the hearers may be paralleled in the sharpness with which a modern congregation will detect without the use of a book if an unfamiliar version of the Bible is read.

of course retains old errors while excluding any further tampering).

The second change was the restriction of the number of books admitted to be sacred. This too was much affected by the congregation. The popularity of certain books gave them a sanctity which they would not otherwise have had (this seems certainly the case with Esther and Daniel), others were admitted for their liturgical suitability (such as Jonah—read on the Day of Atonement[1]), but after a few favourites were thus insisted on, popular choice would be sure therewith to be content, and rigidly exclude any "new-fangled nonsense."

Thus we come at length to formal decisions of the Rabbis declaring Canonicity for one book and refusing it to another, the well-known "defiling of the hands"; but they are really bound by existing custom in the matter, or in case of doubt by a majority of support. The final stage is rather later in date, but the essential parts of this restriction had almost been reached before the Fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70, so that we may claim this great double change in the nature and contents of the Sacred Books as part of the work of post-Exilic Judaism, and particularly of the Scribes, a new development in Israel, who alike led the general taste and were influenced by it.

We cannot overestimate the value of the painstaking labours of this remarkable body of men.

[1] Abrahams, *op. cit.* p. 149.

They owe their existence to the new use of the Scriptures, they are the logical outcome of Ezra and his work, and are the prototypes of all later theologians. To their example we owe it, if our clergy are in any wise *stupor mundi*; and the very right demand of modern Christians that the leaders of their devotion should also be their leaders in learning and thought, springs from the position won for themselves by the Scribes in Judaism.

The Prophet has always been a spasmodic, if brilliant, appearance; it was the Scribe who first made preaching and teaching a profession and a regular duty.[1]

To their instruction is largely due the moral advance of the Jews during the period under consideration, and in view of this we can forgive them much legalism and pedantry. To them, too, we owe not only much of the formation of the Sacred Text, but also its careful preservation.

[1] Dr. Burkitt is very emphatic (*Apoc.* p. 5), "To the Prophets it had been given to make the Religion of Israel, but the Scribes made the Bible." Cf. Herford, *Pharisaism*, p. 15, "There must be someone whose business it was to study the Torah and explain its contents." P. 16, "This new necessity of the time was met by . . . the Scribes." Ottley, *Religion of Israel*, p. 131, "The conception of the Law as the final embodiment of Jahveh's requirement led to the rise of an important class of teachers (the Scribes)." P. 172, "Thus arose the class of 'Scribes' who made the study of the *torah* a profession." G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, vol. 2, p. 364, "Before 300 B.C. the Scribes, both priests and laymen, were organised in companies or guilds." *Ibid.* vol. 2, p. 366, "The collections of *Proverbs* . . . must have had a very early origin, but probably were not complete till the Greek period. We can hardly doubt that the Scribes of the Persian age had a share in the formation of them."

They have by their methods perpetuated not a few corruptions of the text of the Old Testament, but without the precautions taken by the Scribes we may doubt whether at this distance of time we should have extant any text at all of the majority of the Hebrew books. Very little has survived that is not in the Canon, and practically all of that is so late in date that its preservation may be directly attributed to Christian hands. It is also most unlikely that in a few accidentally preserved fragments we should have a much better text than the artificial one adopted by the schools of the Rabbis.

Not a few of the writings of the Jewish Bible come from the pens of the Scribes, and to their care in collecting and re-editing we owe the present form of practically the whole.

It is to a Scribe, also, who was pupil of the great Rabbi Gamaliel, that we owe nearly half of the New Testament; while the scholarly Epistle to the Hebrews and the intensely Jewish Apocalypse, as well as the curious writing called Jude, are clearly products of men whose ideas had been learnt under the guidance of the Scribes.

The following of this process and the formation of a fixed Sacred Literature is obvious in both Christianity and Islam, but the forming of the Canon of the New Testament follows very closely the Jewish model. Both were slow natural growths, almost imperceptible, extending over a number of

generations,[1] and the final result only appearing after the test of long use. But greater even than this, is the debt owing to the new use of the Sacred Books ; for we not only owe to this Jewish example the familiarity with the text of Holy Writ, which has been such a great feature of Christianity, but even the very existence of the New Testament itself. For it was this same use of Scripture in public worship, thus borrowed by the first generation of Christians, which showed the way for the reading of Apostolic letters and exhortations after the manner of the reading of the Prophets. Then, though the older books were still read, the desire arose to hear the story of the Son of David rather than that of the king of Israel, and so the story had to be written and copied for congregation after congregation. Other teachers, finding their letters read after the Prophetic model, began to compose treatises more suited for this purpose. Thus did those who never planned a book produce the most wonderful the world has known.

D. Scribes and Pharisees

The work of the Scribes has been already noticed, and their importance for the writing of

[1] How long the Canon of the New Testament remained an open question, apart from the general acceptance of the bulk of its books, is shown by the Letter of Jerome to Dardanus: Jerome contrasts the Western Church which accepted the Apocalypse and rejected Hebrews (presumably as non-Pauline) with the Eastern Church accepting the Epistle and rejecting the Revelation. (Scott, *Revelation*, p. 8.)

the New Testament considered with reference to the Scriptures.

The Pharisees are a difficult folk to define; they are called a sect (*αἵρεσις*) both in the New Testament[1] and Josephus,[2] but this seems only to mean that they were an exclusive set of people, as their name implies.[3] Roughly they represent the strict following of the Ezra tradition, and were composed of those who insisted, in season and out of season, on the rigid observance of the Torah,[4] and the expansion thereof in the decisions of the Scribes.[5] Although a small body and of no great weight, at the time of the Maccabean crisis they furnished the majority of the Martyrs,[6] thus providing no small precedent for Gospel times; for theirs is the first case where men die definitely for their religion, confident of future reward. For a time they give considerable help to the revolt,[7] but their aims are

[1] Ac. 15. 5, *ἀπὸ τῆς αἱρέσεως τῶν Φαρισαίων.* 26. 5, *κατὰ τὴν ἀκριβεστάτην αἵρεσιν . . . Φαρισαῖος.*

[2] Jos. *Ant.* 13. 5. 9 (vol. 3, p. 174, § 171), *. . . τρεῖς αἱρέσεις τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἦσαν . . . ἡ μὲν Φαρισαίων ἐλέγετο. Vita*, 2 fin. (vol. 4, p. 315, § 12) *. . . τῇ Φαρισαίων αἱρέσει . . . Ibid.* 38 (p. 345, § 191), *. . . τῆς δὲ Φαρισαίων αἱρέσεως . . .*

[3] It means roughly "Separatist." I do not know of any initiatory ceremony such as the "ordination" of a Scribe.

[4] *B.J.* 2. 8. 14 (vol. 5, p. 168, § 162), *οἱ δοκοῦντες μετ' ἀκριβείας ἐξηγεῖσθαι τὰ νόμιμα . . .*

[5] Jos. *Ant.* 13. 10. 6 (vol. 3, p. 197, § 297), *. . . νόμιμα πολλά τινα παρέδοσαν τῷ δήμῳ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι ἐκ πατέρων διαδοχῆς, ἃπερ οὐκ ἀναγέγραπται ἐν τοῖς Μωϋσέως νόμοις.*

[6] 1 Macc. 2. 38, ". . . they died . . . to the number of a thousand."

[7] 1 Macc. 2. 42, "Then were gathered together unto him a company of Hasidæans, mighty men of Israel."

rather religious than political;[1] when they find that the Maccabees are not model rulers, their ideals cannot tolerate a High Priest assuming the title and worldly duties of a petty king, so they go into opposition again.[2] Slowly they gain power and influence, admission to the Sanhedrim,[3] control of the Temple ceremonial,[4] and the like; they are regarded with great veneration by the people,[5] and treated as their natural ideal and leaders.

Their service in resisting the wrong sort of Hellenism had been of the greatest value,[6] for it prevented the swamping of Judaism at a critical moment;[7] but it led them into too great an exclusiveness, and as they grew in power and wealth

[1] 1 Macc. 7. 13, "And the Hasidæans were the first that sought peace . . . priest . . . will do us no wrong." Cf. Hastings, *D.B.* vol. 3, p. 823, top of col. 1.

[2] Jos. *Ant.* 13. 10. 5-6 (vol. 3, p. 195, § 288), *Ὑρκανῷ δὲ φθόνον ἐκίνησεν . . . οἱ Φαρισαῖοι κακῶς πρὸς αὐτὸν εἶχον . . . κ.τ.λ.*

[3] Under Queen Alexandra. Cf. Herford, *Pharisaism*, p. 44; Hastings, *D.B.* vol. 3, p. 824. Jos. *B.J.* 1. 5. 2 (vol. 5, p. 23, § 111), *τούτοις περιττὸν δή τι προσεῖχεν ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρα . . . οἳ δὲ . . . κατὰ μικρὸν ὑπιόντες ἤδη καὶ διοικηταὶ τῶν ὅλων ἐγίγνοντο, διώκειν τε καὶ κατάγειν οὓς ἐθέλοιεν, λύειν τε καὶ δεσμεῖν . . . ἐκράτει δὲ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων αὐτή, Φαρισαῖοι δ' αὐτῆς. Ant.* 13. 16. 2 (vol. 3, p. 217, § 408), *ἡ δ' ἀρχιερέα . . . πάντα τοῖς Φαρισαίοις ἐπιτρέπει ποιεῖν.*

[4] *Ant.* 18. 1. 3 (vol. 4, p. 138, § 15), *καὶ δι' αὐτὰ τοῖς τε δήμοις πιθανώτατοι τυγχάνουσι, καὶ ὁπόσα θεῖα εὐχῶν τ' ἔχεται καὶ ἱερῶν ποιήσεως ἐξηγήσει τῇ ἐκείνων τυγχάνει πραττόμενα.* 18. 1. 4 (p. 139, § 17), *Σαδδουκαίοις . . . προσχωροῦσι δ' οὖν οἷς ὁ Φαρισαῖος λέγει, διὰ τὸ μὴ ἂν ἄλλως ἀνεκτοὺς γενέσθαι τοῖς πλήθεσιν.*

[5] *Ant.* 13. 10. 6 (vol. 3, p. 197, § 298), *τὸ πλῆθος σύμμαχον ἐχόντων,* 18. 1. 3 (vol. 4, p. 138, § 12), *τιμῆς γε τοῖς ἡλικίᾳ προήκουσι παραχωροῦσιν.*

[6] Herford, *op. cit.* 6, "Pharisaism is the one [element in Judaism] which was least affected by foreign influences."

[7] *Ibid.* 69, "It is indeed difficult to believe that [the Jews] would have survived, if the policy of Ezra had not been carried out."

they fell into the normal snare of established religions in desiring the safe and punctilious course rather than the fierce zeal of their earlier days; enthusiasm was as much *tabu* among them as with our Hanoverian Bishops.

This led to two results. They tended to decry for the most part those believers in Apocalyptic, who were the most living force in Judaism at the time, regarding them as empty dreamers who might endanger the faith by bringing on broils with Rome.[1] They hoped by scrupulous observance of "Torah" and the exclusion of all but the faithful from Israel to force a divine interposition, much as the Jews of Jeremiah's day had felt that YAHWEH could not forsake His Temple. This no doubt was the main cause of their hostility to our Lord. He was decidedly one of those dangerous dreamers,[2] and, what was worse in their eyes, philo-Roman. He was likely to cause a popular outbreak, and give the Romans a chance to interfere, when He would betray the nation (as they conceived it) to the hated foe. The second mistake was that they failed to attain their high ideal (as is usually the case when a really high ideal such as theirs is set up), but were not humble enough to acknowledge

[1] Jn. 11. 47-49, *συνήγαγον οὖν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι συνέδριον . . . ἐὰν ἀφῶμεν αὐτὸν οὕτω . . . ἐλεύσονται οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ἀροῦσιν ἡμῶν καὶ τὸν τόπον* (*i.e.* the Temple, *v. inf.*) *καὶ τὸ ἔθνος.*

[2] Oesterley, *The Doctrine of the Last Things*, p. 71, "The antagonism of the Pharisees towards our Lord must have been in part due to His eschatological teaching, and this must also have been *one* of the reasons why the people clung to Him and followed Him."

it, taking that self-righteous and scornful tone which called forth such bitter denunciation from the Master.[1]

Such, however, was probably the attitude only of a part of them;[2] there were certainly others who cherished the Apocalyptic hope, among them doubtless Nicodemus[3] and Joseph of Arimathea,[4] and probably St. Paul. The most obvious share of the Pharisees in moulding the infant Church was the contribution to the ranks of the converted of a considerable number of men trained to high ideals and inflexible propriety of conduct;[5] some of them (St. Paul at least[6]) of a high education and thorough knowledge of the Law which Christ came to fulfil.[7] This must have been no small asset to a body so largely composed of rough and ignorant peasants.

[1] Cf. Parable of the Pharisee and the Publican. See also Liberty, *Political Relations of Christ's Ministry*, for their great hypocrisy in using the Roman power for their own ends, while refusing the real alliance with the Imperial power, which seems Israel's vocation at the time.

[2] Herford, *op. cit.* p. 165. "The Pharisees themselves were quite aware that there were hypocrites in their ranks."

[3] Jn. 3. 1, . . . *ἄνθρωπος ἐκ τῶν Φαρισαίων, Νικόδημος* . . .

[4] He is called *ἀγαθὸς καὶ δίκαιος* (Lk. 23. 50) and acts with Nicodemus —this seems to imply a Pharisee. That he was of Apocalyptic opinions is expressly stated, Mk. 15. 43, *ἦν προσδεχόμενος τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ.*

[5] Ac. 15. 5, *τινες τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς αἱρέσεως τῶν Φαρισαίων πεπιστευκότες.* Charles, *Religious Development*, p. 35, "Thus Apocalyptic Pharisaism became, speaking historically, the parent of Christianity. . . ." P. 157, ". . . Pharisaic mystics, who must in due time have found a congenial home in the bosom of the rising Christian Church."

[6] Ac. 22. 3, *πεπαιδευμένος κατὰ ἀκρίβειαν τοῦ πατρῴου νόμου* . . .

[7] Mt. 5. 17, . . . *τὸν νόμον* . . . *πληρῶσαι.*

We may venture to claim too that (strange as it may sound at first) it was upon the Pharisaic conception of Judaism, especially the Apocalyptic type, that our Lord chiefly based His teaching, reinterpreting and expanding it as occasion demanded.[1] Certainly it was to the Pharisees that we owe that morality which He took as the basis for a much higher ideal: our Lord's moral teaching would have been unintelligible even to pre-Exilic Jews, and to Gentiles (as in another connexion) "foolishness."

Another service of theirs, though rather remote, was their stand in Maccabean days, not only furnishing the precedent of martyrdom, but preserving from utter extinction the stock prepared for so many years to receive the grafting of the new faith.

[1] Oesterley, *op. cit.* p. 2, "And it is upon this Pharisaic teaching that, in the first instance, He bases His own."

CHAPTER III

APOCALYPTIC THOUGHT AND LITERATURE

The main channels of teaching till the building of the second Temple were the Law—a code of instructions for conduct moral and ceremonial—and Prophecy — exhortations to righteous and moral life, laying stress on right motives, with plentiful denunciation of those who did not do these things.[1] But it became abundantly clear that the majority of the people would not become righteous,[2] in spite of the directions of the Law and the thunders of the Prophets, and it seemed that all the terrible curses against wrong-doers were of the same order as that of the legendary Cardinal of Rheims—"nobody seemed a penny the worse!"—only there was no jackdaw in this case.

[1] Charles, *Religious Development*, p. 14, "In the religious development of Israel the chief agents in pre-Exilic times were seers and prophets, and, during the Exile and after it, prophets, biblical students and apocalyptists."

[2] Herford, *Pharisaism*, p. 72, "But however sublime the religion of the great prophets had been, the religion of the ordinary Israelite had by no means attained to the same degree of power and fulness."

Even the Exile, falling as it did on all alike, did not wholly convince.

Were the Prophets wrong then?[1] Was there no reward for the righteous, and no God that judgeth the earth? Was YAHWEH the non-moral tribal Deity after all? or a mere metaphysical abstraction?

Not quite at once, but by degrees, an answer was found, and with the answer, contained in it, a whole crop of new ideas of the greatest importance for the later history of religion.

Individual responsibility and individual retribution had been taught by Ezekiel during the Exile. This for the moment made the problem harder; still faith would find a way out.

Next there was an attempt made to show that we cannot understand all God's work, but can trust Him, for He is King of Nature; and, moreover, suffering is not always the penalty of sin: it can be a training ground for higher development (this was contributed by the writer of the book of Job).[2] But this did not explain all.

Then the long-suffering of God, and immediate remission of penalty in case of real repentance, always giving the sinner a fresh chance (as in the

[1] Porter, *Messages of Apocalyptic Writers*, p. 20, "Almost the whole element of hope in prophecy was to the mind of post-Exilic Judaism unfulfilled. When and how was the promised glory and power of Israel to come to pass? This was the question which the Apocalyptical scribe tried to answer, and the answer must accord with prophecy, and if possible be derived from it."

[2] Enoch (a little later) does not regard prosperity as a mark of divine favour. See Charles, *Esch.* pp. 253, 254.

book of Jonah), was noted as a possible solution. But still men were not quite satisfied.

Where is the Kingdom of God, His rule, and His justification before all the nations? To what is the training of the suffering righteous to lead?[1] merely to a non-moral Sheol of half-inanimate shadows where YAHWEH has no power, nor can have?[2] Surely not! So there arises the conviction that this life is not all; the dead shall come forth again upon the earth,[3] and have new life. And it becomes obvious too that this earth is not fit for the new condition of things, so it will be destroyed[4] and replaced by a new earth[5] (a new heaven follows

[1] Muirhead, *op. cit.* p. 89, ". . . outside of the Book of Daniel, the Old Testament hardly teaches, and seldom even surely suggests, a doctrine of immortality . . . Rarest of all is the suggestion of a resurrection of the body."

[2] Charles, *op. cit.* chapter 1, for pre-Exilic ideas of Sheol. See also Jackson, *Esch. of Jesus*, p. 183. [3] Dan. 12. 2; T. Benj. 10. 8.

[4] Charles, *Esch.* p. 181, ". . . end of the present world will be catastrophic." Cf. *Religious Development*, p. 21, for an identical statement. G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, vol. 2, p. 535, "Despairing of the redemption of Israel in the present dispensation, and yet believing in the Divine justice, certain ardent souls in Israel predicted the sudden intervention of God Himself with supernatural forces, resulting in the purgation of this world or even in its overthrow and replacement by new heavens and a new earth."

[5] En. 37-71; En. 45. 4, 5:

"Then will I cause Mine Elect One to dwell among them.
And I will transform the heaven and make it an eternal blessing and light.
And I will transform the earth and make it a blessing;
And I will cause Mine elect ones to dwell upon it;
But the sinners and evil-doers shall not set foot thereon."

Charles, *op. cit.* p. 19. "Again, the Christian expectation of a new heaven and a new earth is derived not from prophecy but from apocalyptic."

as a natural sequence, but this may be connected with the idea which located some of the dead in parts of heaven,[1] which will thus be affected by the resurrection), and new bodies will be provided for the righteous[2] (for not a few have been torn in pieces or burned), while the wicked shall be judged for their evil deeds,[3] and either before or after this find their abode in a terrible place named Gehenna.[4] The Davidic king of the future realm also undergoes a change; instead of the righteous earthly prince who should rule Israel, literally a second David (as Amos and Ezekiel had pictured the coming

[1] Sec. En. 8. 1. Cf. En. 22 and following chapters; the two writers are speaking of the same things, and where En. is vague as to locality, Sec. En. says third heaven. See Charles, *Esch.* p. 316.

[2] 2 Macc. 7. 11, ". . . tongue . . . hands. . . . From Heaven I possess these . . . and from Him I hope to receive these back again." 14. 46, "He drew forth his bowels . . . calling upon Him Who is Lord of Life and Spirit to restore him these again . . ."

[3] En. 22; 10. 12, ". . . till the judgement that is for ever and ever . . ." 16. 1, " . . . until the day of the consummation, the great judgement in which the age shall be consummated . . ." 90. 20 ff., ". . . opened those books before the Lord of the sheep . . . and the judgement was held . . . found guilty . . . cast into an abyss, full of fire and flaming . . ." This is an entirely Jewish idea. Cf. Burkitt, *op. cit.* p. 3, "It seems to me certain that the doctrine of a future general Assize held no place in the Graeco-Roman world, apart from the beliefs of Jews and Christians. . . . The Stoic conflagration merely started everything over again, to retread the old circle. Graeco-Roman religion, speaking generally, did not see in History the working out of a Divine Purpose."

[4] En. 27. 1, ". . . this accursed valley . . ." 90. 26, ". . . a like abyss was opened in the midst of the earth full of fire . . ." Ass. Mos. 10. 10, ". . . thy enemies in Gehenna . . ." Sec. En. 10. 1 ff., " . . . a very terrible place, and there were all manner of tortures in that place; . . . a fiery river coming forth, and that whole place is everywhere fire, and everywhere there is frost and ice . . . merciless torture . . ."

deliverer), he becomes a distinctly supernatural being[1] and is Priest as well as King.

But, strange to say, while the solution seems based on despair, and is conceived in the future since the present is irremediable, not only are the new teachers far more optimistic than the prophets (who so often merely denounce what they cannot remedy), but they have a truer philosophy of history, for their ideas of an overruling Providence are far clearer, and their supernaturalizing of the coming Realm of Righteousness gives us a far higher and more spiritual view of the Kingdom of God.[2]

A. The Apocalypses

All this development in answer to the problem left by the Prophets is chiefly to be found in what are known as the Apocalyptic books; they are a wholly post-Exilic growth[3] and for the most part left outside the Jewish Canon. It is the second generation as it were from the Prophets.[4] Their lessons had been learned by some, and following upon them

[1] Charles, *op. cit.* p. 296. Cf. Enoch *passim*, and T. Reub. 6. 8.

[2] Porter, *Messages of the Apocalyptic Writers*, p. 66, "Daniel and its successors have grasped the great idea of human history as a unity, as proceeding according to a rational plan, and bound to issue in a worthy consummation . . . the unity of history being a corollary of the unity of God." C. A. Scott, *Revelation*, p. 27, "They were, indeed, to a certain extent a protest against the temper of moral and intellectual scepticism which is the real danger of such periods."

[3] Jackson, *op. cit.* p. 174, "An age is entered when students of prophecy begin to dream visions, and to write them down."

[4] Charles, *op. cit.* p. 179, "This transference of the hopes of the faithful from the material world took place about 100 B.C."

comes a wider interest, and a stirring of new thought. It is in Apocalyptic writings too that we see the first signs of influence from the outside world, a second parentage of the message, partly Persian, partly Greek, and some more untraceable sources.[1]

And it is this newer set of thoughts and doctrines that we find so conspicuous in the New Testament, in our Lord's teaching, and early Christian thought.[2] There is other matter, no doubt, partly reminiscent of the older books, partly some entirely new ideas, and, above all, a very new treatment of the borrowed matter (both in form and words); but the background of Apocalyptic and New Testament thought is almost identical,[3] and sharply different to that of the Jews before the Exile. This will be seen at once if we note some of the characteristic ideas of the Apocalypses, for they will be the most familiar and oft-repeated conceptions of the New Testament, which have been long considered to be the peculiar products of Christianity,[4] *e.g.* the Parousia with its heralds,

[1] Jackson, *op. cit.* p. 254, "It must be said of Jewish Apocalyptic that, a product of religious syncretism, it testifies to the variety of foreign influences which, from the Exile onwards, were experienced and yielded to by the Jew of the Diaspora and the Jew of Palestine."

[2] Burkitt, *op. cit.* p. 12, "It was this idea" (the immediate coming of the Kingdom) "that inspires the whole series of Jewish Apocalypses, that was the central thought of the earliest preaching of Christianity."

[3] Charles, *op. cit.* pp. 178-9, "The belief in a blessed future life springs not from Prophecy but from Apocalyptic. . . . The Christian expectation of a new heaven and a new earth is derived not from Prophecy but from Apocalyptic."

[4] Oesterley, *The Doctrine of the Last Things*, p. 205, "All this

alike men and the portents of Nature;[1] the Two Ages—the present, an evil time,[2] the Kingdom of Satan[3] (the Prince of this Age), and the Age to come,[4] a good time, the Kingdom of God;[5] the Phenomena of the new Age, new heaven and earth,[6] a

teaching, which we have been accustomed to regard as specifically Christian, we find already fully developed, not only in pre-Christian times, but for the most part in literature which is not regarded as being on the same level with the Old Testament Scriptures." Charles, *op. cit.* p. 180, "This temper . . . finds expression in the New Testament . . ." Cf. Jackson, *op. cit.* pp. 284 ff.

[1] T. Levi 3. 9, "When, therefore, the Lord looketh upon us, all of us are shaken; yea, the heavens, and the earth, and the abysses are shaken." . . . 4. 1, "the rocks are being rent, and the sun quenched, and the waters dried up, and the fire cowering, and all creation troubled . . ." Ass. Mos. 10. 4-6, "And the earth shall tremble; to its confines shall it be shaken; and the high mountains shall be made low and the hills shall be shaken and fall, and the sun shall give no light, and the horns of the moon shall be turned into darkness and be broken, and she shall wholly turn to blood, and the circle of the stars shall be disturbed, and the sea shall retire into the abyss, and the fountains of waters shall fail and the rivers shall dry up. For the Most High shall arise . . ." (For a discussion of the text of this passage see Appendix V. p. 192.)

[2] En. 48. 7, ". . . this world of unrighteousness . . ." Jub. 10. 8, "And the chief of the spirits, Mastema, came and said . . . if some of them are not left to me, I shall not be able to execute the power of my will on the sons of men . . . and He said, 'Let the tenth part of them remain . . .'" T. Zab. 9. 8, "He shall redeem all the captivity of the sons of men from Beliar." (Cf. Tob. 14. 5, "until the times of the aeon be fulfilled." *αἰών* = "this world.")

[3] T. Dan 5. 6, "Your prince is Satan." Jub. 10. 8; T. Zab. 9. 8.

[4] En. 5. 7, "But for the elect there shall be light and joy and peace, and they shall inherit the earth." 11. 1, 2, ". . . in those days . . . truth and peace shall be associated together throughout all the days of the world." Sec. En. 61. 2, ". . . in the great time are many mansions prepared for men, good for good, and bad for the bad, without number many." Dalman, *Words of Jesus*, p. 147.

[5] Ass. Mos. 10. 1, "And then His Kingdom shall appear throughout all His creation, and then Satan shall be no more . . ." Dalman, *op. cit.* p. 91.

[6] En. 91. 16, "And the first heaven shall depart and pass away

new Jerusalem,[1] whose builder and maker is God; the defeat of Satan;[2] the Resurrection and Judgement,[3] the Millennium,[4] the punishment of the wicked (spirits and men);[5] the Son of Man and His work.[6]

Nor is it only in ideas that the New Testament borrows from the Apocalyptic writers; phrases are copied in considerable number, and quotations to some small but definite extent.[7] And more complimentary still, the method of composition is taken over whole; not only is one large book called the Apocalypse (and thereby gives the name to the whole of the literature), but there are other

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and a new heaven shall appear . . ." Jub. 1. 29, ". . . the heavens and the earth shall be renewed . . ." Dalman, *op. cit.* p. 177.

[1] En. 90. 29, "And I saw till the Lord of the sheep brought a new house greater and loftier than that first . . ." T. Dan. 5. 12, "And in the New Jerusalem shall the righteous rejoice." Cf. Tob. 13. 16-18.

[2] En. 40. 7, ". . . fending off the satans . . ." Ass. Mos. 10. 1, "And then Satan shall be no more . . ."

[3] En. 62. 5, ff. ". . . that Son of Man sitting on the throne of his glory . . . kings and the mighty and the exalted and those that rule the earth . . . shall be filled with shame . . ." 41. 9, "And He judges them all before Him . . ." 1. 7, 9, "And there shall be a judgement upon all . . . to execute judgement upon all and to destroy the ungodly . . ." 5. 8, "And they shall all live and never sin again." T. Judah 25. 4, "And they who have died in grief shall arise in joy."

[4] Sec. En. 32. 2.

[5] En. 27. 2, "This accursed valley is for those who are accursed for ever." 90. 26, 27, "They were cast into that fiery abyss." 10. 13, "In those days they shall be led off to the abyss of fire, to the torment and the prison in which they shall be confined for ever." 54. 4, 5, ". . . chains . . . for the hosts of Azazel . . . the abyss of complete condemnation . . ."

[6] En. 69. 27, 29, "And the sum of judgement was given unto the Son of Man . . . and all evil shall pass away before his face, and the word of that Son of Man shall go forth and be strong before the Lord of Spirits."

[7] This will be shown in a subsequent chapter.

very considerable passages of the same nature—the Apocalyptic discourse of St. Mark 13 and the parallel Synoptic passages; the two Epistles of Jude and 2 Peter; and in the Pauline writings, Ro. 2. 2-16, 1 Co. 15. 23-28, 2 Co. 4. 7–5. 10, 12. 1-5, 1 Th. 4. 13–5. 11, 2 Th. 1. 5–2. 12; and besides these longer passages there are ninety-five places[1] where in one or more verses the same topics are dealt with (roughly, fifty in Gospels, not counting Synoptic doubling, and forty elsewhere).

This large amount of borrowing becomes the less surprising when we notice that the writers of the New Testament took over the spirit of the Apocalyptists.[2] They, in spite of differences one from another, are super-optimists; they, even more than their predecessors, are full of a conception of Divine purpose in human history, still more definite in their assertion of God's sovereignty, still more magnificent in their pictures of a glorious future, without a shadow of regret for any *Saturnia regna* of the past. So they become steeped in the lore which has come down to them; and as they often write in much the same vein, with much the same imagery, they use the words so familiar to them, and breathing that same spirit which fills them and impels them to write.

[1] Appendix I.

[2] Herford, *op. cit.* p. 66, "What Hellenism and Apocalyptic had to give went to Christianity, so far as it survived at all." Charles, *Religious Development*, p. 33, "It was from the Apocalyptic side of Judaism that Christianity was born—and in that region of Palestine where Apocalyptic and not legalism held its seat—even in Galilee . . ."

B. Heaven and Hell

A considerable part of the Apocalyptic writings are concerned with what may be called "Spiritual Geography," and much of the beliefs of their contemporaries on such matters are either chronicled in them or taken from them.

While a tribe is small and self-contained it may well content itself, as did early Israel and many other tribes in the same stage of development, with a very naïve and restricted conception of the Unseen. A neighbouring mountain-top, the meeting-place of earth and sky, will suffice to house the Deity (whether Yahweh on Sinai or Zeus on Olympus), and a cavern or other subterranean place will be the abode of the shades, so far as they are not haunting the world still.

But with the progress of man, enlarged knowledge of the world, and a wider conception of all things, this will no longer serve, and the process known as transcendentalizing begins. God is put further and further off,[1] and the spirits of the dead likewise. There grows up a hierarchy of mediators[2]

[1] Porter, *op. cit.* p. 21, "As compared with earlier prophets his conception of God is more transcendental." Jackson, *op. cit.* p. 172, "God had become . . . a far-off God."

[2] T. Dan 6. 2, "The angel that intercedeth for you, for he is a mediator between God and man . . ." T. Levi 5. 6, "I am the angel who intercedeth for the nation of Israel . . ." Oesterley, *Mediation*, ch. 1. The idea of a Mediator in O.T. is late, and depends on a high idea of God and intense feeling of sin. Never fully accepted by official Judaism, and disappears by reason of opposition to Christianity.

between God and Man. The obvious want of Justice in the treatment of men on earth demands readjustment in the world of the departed, and the strength of evil demands some countervailing force to account for it. So we get an elaborated Heaven and Hell, with a very full angelology and demonology to match. Some signs of this are seen as early as the Exile, but the fullest forms are not reached till after the time of the Maccabees.

The region of Blessedness is expanded from the mountain-top to include vast supra- and circum-mundane territories, divided into three,[1] seven,[2] or even ten heavens.[3] It is peopled with all manner of wonderful inhabitants, good and bad;[4] not only are fallen angels kept there in bondage, but even

[1] T. Levi 3. 1 (α) first version, "Heavens . . . lowest . . . second . . . highest."

[2] T. Levi 3. 1 (β and S^1), later version, "Hear, therefore, regarding the seven heavens."

[3] Sec. En. 22. 1, "On the tenth Heaven, Aravoth, I saw the appearance of the Lord's face . . ."

[4] Sec. En. 3-21, "Two hundred angels who rule the stars . . . three hundred angels very bright who keep the garden . . . angels fearful and merciless . . . a hundred angels kindle the sun and set it alight . . . Phoenixes and Chalkydri, marvellous and wonderful, with feet and tails in the form of a lion and a crocodile's head . . . armed soldiers serving the Lord with tympana and organs . . . with sweet voice . . . Grigori of human appearance, and their size was greater than that of great giants . . . angels very bright and glorious and their faces shining more than the sun's shining, glistening . . . fiery troops of great archangels, incorporeal forces, and dominions, orders and governments, cherubim and seraphim, thrones and many-eyed ones . . ." En. 14. 22, ". . . ten thousand times ten thousand stood before Him, yet He needed no counsellor . . ."

the spirits of apostate men are there under like conditions.[1] A vast work of worship, intercession, and punishment, alike by angels and men's spirits, is being carried on.[2] God Himself, a Being of unapproachable grandeur,[3] far aloof from all save a few specially privileged ones,[4] is located in the highest of all the divisions.[5]

[1] Sec. En. 10, "This place . . . for those who on earth practise . . ." 7. 1, ". . . prisoners hanging . . . angels . . . dark-looking . . . incessantly making weeping . . ." 3 Bar. 2 and 3; but En. 10. 12 gives earth as their prison; so Jub. 5. 10.

[2] Sec. En. 10. 3, ". . . angels fearful and merciless, bearing angry weapons, merciless torture . . ." 22. 3, ". . . their incessant singing . . ." 31. 2, ". . . angels singing the song of victory . . ." En. 9. 10, ". . . the souls of those who have died are crying and making their suit to the gates of heaven, and their lamentations have ascended . . ." 15. 2, "You should intercede for men . . ." 22. 5, "Their voice went forth to heaven and made suit . . ." 40. 4, "The first voice blesses the Lord of Spirits for ever and ever . . . the third voice I heard pray and intercede . . . and supplicate . . ."

[3] En. 14. 16 ff., ". . . I cannot describe to you its splendour and extent. And its floor was of fire, and above it were lightnings and the path of the stars, and its ceiling also was flaming fire. And I looked and saw therein a lofty throne; its appearance was as crystal, and the wheels thereof as the shining sun, and there was the vision of Cherubim. And from underneath the throne came streams of flaming fire so that I could not look thereon. And the Great Glory sat thereon, and His raiment shone more brightly than the sun and was whiter than any snow. None of the angels could enter and could behold His face by reason of the magnificence and glory, and no flesh could behold Him." Sec. En. 22. 1, 2, "The Lord's face is ineffable, marvellous and very awful, and very, very terrible . . . the Lord's throne very great and not made with hands . . . His immutable beauty, and who shall tell of the ineffable greatness of His glory."

[4] Jub. 1. 27, 2. 1, "The angel of the presence . . ." T. Levi 3. 5, 7, "Angels of the presence of the Lord . . ." Tob. 12. 15, ". . . seven holy angels . . . go in before the glory of the Holy One . . ." Sec. En. 21. 1, ". . . standing before the Lord's face . . ."

[5] Sec. En. 20. 3, "On the tenth heaven is God." T. Levi 3. 4, "And in the highest of all dwelleth the Great Glory far above all holiness."

Hell[1] has had the same treatment. From a dim and uncertain place beneath the ground, it has become a region located in the confines of the earth,[2] or even in heaven itself,[3] the air especially being allocated to evil spirits.[4] Instead of being a place where YAHWEH has no rights and no control, it has become His especial realm for vengeance on sinners. From the polluted valley of the son of Hinnom, where in some earthly day of vengeance the wicked should receive their doom, Gehenna has developed into a dread place of torment by fire or ice,[5] or even a scene of purely spiritual pains.[6] But though, here or elsewhere, the demons share in the penalty of their dupes,[7] they are nowhere represented as the torturers as in later legend,—the punishment is of God and is executed by the angels.[8]

[1] See Emmett, "The Bible and Hell" in *Immortality*.

[2] En. 54. 1, "And I looked and turned to another part of the earth, and saw there a deep valley with burning fire." 21. 2, ff. "a place chaotic . . . a great fire . . . and the place was cleft as far as the abyss."

[3] T. Levi 3. 1, 2, "Heavens . . . the lowest . . . has fire, snow and ice made ready for the day of judgement . . ." Sec. En. 10. "(The third heaven) a very terrible place . . . all manner of tortures . . . everywhere fire . . . frost and ice . . ."

[4] Sec. En. 29. 5, "He (Satanail) was flying in the air continuously . . ." T. Benj. 3. 4, "(β S[1]) spirit of the air." Asc. Is. 4. 2.

[5] En. 10. 13, "The abyss of fire," see p. 54 n. 5. T. Levi 3. 2. Sec. En. 10.

[6] Dan. 12. 2, "Some to shame and everlasting contempt . . ." En. 27. 2, "This accursed valley is for those who are accursed for ever."

[7] Sec. En. 7. "Second heaven . . . prisoners hanging . . . angels dark-looking . . . incessantly making weeping . . ."

[8] Sec. En. 10. 3, "Angels fearful and merciless, bearing angry weapons . . ." En. 10. 4, 5, 15, "The Lord said to Raphael, 'Bind Azazel hand and foot and cast him into the darkness . . . place upon

Much of this charting of the heavens is taken for granted by the New Testament writers, and their ideas of the spirit world are almost identical. We find the same transcendental God[1] (though efforts are made to bring men nearer to Him) with the same angel mediators[2] (though here too there is an endeavour to make Christ the sole Mediator).[3] The plural form "Heavens" occurs no less than 86 times[4] (though strangely enough only once in Revelation); and in the third heaven,[5] as before, are the places for the dead, good and bad; here is Paradise[6] (the same term as in Enoch) whither St. Paul is transported, and whither the souls of Christ and the penitent robber go;[7] Dives and Lazarus are represented as in close proximity (presumably in this same third heaven),[8] near enough to see and speak to each other, and the "great gulf" recalls the language of Enoch. Paradise too is the final abode of the blessed.[9] The fallen angels are mostly in bondage,[10] but some are free to roam the earth and beg not to be sent to the abyss before the time.[11]

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him rough and jagged rocks . . . destroy all the spirits of the reprobate and the children of the Watchers. . . .'"

[1] Mt. 5. 34; Jn. 1. 18; Eph. 4. 6; Col. 1. 15; 1 Ti. 1. 17; 1 Jn. 4. 12.

[2] Ga. 3. 19; Ac. 7. 53.

[3] 1 Ti. 2. 5. But Moses appears as Mediator in Ga. 3. 19 along with the angels.

[4] Even more apposite are He. 4. 14, "Passed through the heavens"; Heb. 7. 26, "Higher than the heavens." It hardly needs remarking that שָׁמַיִם is invariably plural. [5] 2 Co. 12. 2. [6] 2 Co. 12. 4.

[7] Lk. 23. 43. [8] Lk. 16. 23 ff. [9] Rev. 2. 7. [10] 2 Pe. 2. 4.

[11] Mt. 8. 29 ("before the time"); Lk. 8. 31 ("into the abyss").

There is the same sort of worship[1] and intercession[2] in heaven, by angels[3] and human spirits,[4] making a prominent feature of Revelation, and the description of God's majesty is as tremendous as any to be found elsewhere.[5] As usual, only the privileged can endure His presence.[6]

Hell likewise is a place of fire,[7] but not of corporeal punishment,[8] for only the righteous are said to receive a body again;[9] there is mention of a prison for probation[10] which would seem to be connected with hell. Its final purpose seems to be the annihilation under form of fire of all the wicked, whether angels or men; no other sense can be made of the expression "second death"[11] or "destroy body and soul."[12]

C. Judgement and Resurrection[13]

Though the great Judgement was considered as yet to come,[14] there was already a measure of

[1] Rev. 5. 13, 14. [2] Rev. 5. 8; 8. 3. [3] Rev. 4. 10; 7. 11.
[4] Rev. 7. 15. [5] Rev. 4. 2 ff.
[6] Lk. 1. 19; Rev. 8. 2. Cf. Jn. 1. 18; 1 Ti. 1. 17; 6. 16; 1 Jn. 4. 12.
[7] Mt. 5. 22; 13. 42, 50; 18. 8; 25. 41; Mk. 9. 43, 48; Ju. 7; Rev. 19. 20 and ch. 20. [8] Rev. 14. 10.
[9] 1 Co. 15. 38; Ro. 8. 11. St. Paul's words "incorruption, glory, power, spiritual body, image of the heavenly," cannot be taken to include bodies prepared for Hell.
[10] 1 Pe. 3. 19; 4. 6. Cf. Mt. 12. 32.
[11] Rev. 20. 6, 14. But v. 10 suggests otherwise: the εἰς τ. αἰῶνας τ. αἰ. is however a doubtful reading. Alford, vol. 4, p. 734.
[12] Mt. 10. 28. Surely God is meant.
[13] Cf. Emmett's Essay in *Immortality*.
[14] En. 90. 20-26, "And I saw till a throne, etc." Ps. Sol. 17, 18.

retribution for just and unjust,[1] and to some extent we might infer that the future assize will deal only with those cases which have not yet been fully rewarded.[2] For there is a very marked difference in these books between the condition of the righteous, whose lot in Paradise (located in the third heaven)[3] is already one of great happiness,[4] and that of the wicked, whether angels or men, who are undergoing penalties now,[5] and whose future punishment seems either deprivation of the privilege of Resurrection,[6] or, alternatively, to be annihilated in a terrible burning at the final settlement.[7]

A Resurrection, at least for the righteous,[8]

[1] En. 10. 12, ". . . bind them fast for seventy generations in the valleys of the earth till the day of their judgement." 22, "And the earth shall be cleansed . . . from all punishment." Sec. En. 7. 1-3; 10. 3; 40. 12, "I saw how the prisoners are in pain expecting the limitless judgement."

[2] En. 47. 2, "Prayer of the righteous . . . that judgement may be done unto them and that they may not have to suffer for ever."

[3] En. 77. 3, "And the third part (of the north) contains the garden of righteousness." 60. 23, "The garden of righteousness." Sec. En. 8. 1 ff., "Third heaven . . . Paradise . . . and Paradise is between corruptibility and incorruptibility . . . (description of its delights)."

[4] En. 61. 12, "All the elect who dwell in the garden of life . . ."

[5] See p. 50 n. 4. Sec. En. 10; 40. 12. 3 Bar. 2 and 3.

[6] 2 Macc. 7. 14, ". . . thou shalt have no resurrection unto life." En. 46. 6, "And worms shall be their beds and they shall have no hope of rising from their beds."

[7] En. 48. 10, "They shall fall and not rise again." 9, "As straw in the fire so shall they burn before the face of the holy; as lead in the water shall they sink before the face of the righteous and no trace of them shall any more be found." 54. 6, "The burning furnace . . ." Ps. Sol. 15. 12, "Sinners shall perish for ever . . ." Asc. Is. 4. 18.

[8] En. 90. 2 Macc. 7. 9, "The King of the world shall raise up us, who have died for His laws, unto an eternal renewal of life." Ps. Sol.

appears almost invariably in the Apocalypses, sometimes of spirits only,[1] sometimes of the body as well;[2] some writers allow the rising of the spirits of the wicked but not of their bodies;[3] it is often confined to Jews, good and bad.[4]

The New Testament conception of the Great Assize (following the Apocalypses) is very clearly defined.[5] But retribution of good and evil (as in the earlier books) precede it;[6] Hebrews indeed speaks as if judgement followed immediately on death;[7] much of what is said may be taken to mean an assize of the righteous for the allotting of varied rewards according to desert and some penalties for their faults.[8]

This depends partly whether the Resurrection includes the wicked; at first sight the New Testament seems to follow the more general opinion of the day and confine it to the righteous;[9] they

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3. 16, "They that fear the Lord shall rise to life eternal." This appears early as Is. 26. 14, 19.

[1] En. 103. 4, 8, "And the spirits of you who have died in righteousness shall live and rejoice and their spirits shall not perish . . . sinners . . . into darkness and chains and a burning flame where there is grievous judgement shall your spirits enter."

[2] 2 Macc. 7. 11; 14. 46; see p. 50 n. 2.

[3] T. Benj. 10. 8, "Then also all men shall rise, some unto glory, and some unto shame." En. 98. 3, "Their spirits . . . into the furnace of fire."

[4] *Ibid.* Daniel 12. 2 only refers to the very good and very bad Jews.

[5] Rev. 20. 11; Mt. 10. 15; 11. 22.

[6] Rev. 14. 10, 11; 15. 2; 14. 2-4; 7. 9-17.

[7] He. 9. 27.

[8] Rev. 20. 12, 13. *v.* 4, "judgement" is given to the privileged martyrs—this must mean reward. Cf. Dan. 7. 9.

[9] Lk. 20. 35.

only, at all events, have new bodies, and the ἀνάστασις σώματος is only for them.[1] There are however two texts which roundly declare the opposite;[2] they look rather like glosses, and Dr. Charles does not hesitate to call one of them spurious.[3] There is also the phrase in 2 Peter about reserving the wicked for judgement,[4] but this seems to refer merely to the transfer of the souls of the wrongdoers to their extinction (ἀπώλεια) in the fire. It may well be that this is the explanation of the other passages also; the evil souls are to be brought from their temporary abode, cast into the lake of fire and there annihilated; this is in a sense "a resurrection of judgement,"[5] but other writers prefer not to call it resurrection at all.[6]

D. Angels[7]

The non-human denizens of the spirit world must be treated separately, and under the modern designations of Angels and Demons.

The word "angel" is fairly common throughout the Old Testament, but it is used in two quite different connexions. The former of these, "the Angel of Yahweh," is but a phrase to describe

[1] See previous note.

[2] Jn. 5. 29; Ac. 24. 15. Cf. Rev. 20. 12, 13.

[3] Charles, *Esch.* p. 429. [4] 2 Pe. 2. 9; 3. 7. [5] Jn. 5. 29.

[6] This avoids many apparent contradictions: the two resurrections in Revelation remain a difficulty as it does not seem suggested that all of the deferred rising are condemned.

[7] Hastings, *D.B.* vol. 5, p. 285.

a Theophany, the Deity Himself in human form.[1] The latter use is of supernatural beings such as those who surround the Throne of God in the vision of Isaiah;[2] they are a natural outcome of the metaphor of a King, for He must needs have His court. There are a few other vague hints as to their position; we are told too that they act as messengers of God, as their name implies, either for salvation[3] or destruction.[4] Of their nature, number, or names we are told nothing.

With the coming of Apocalyptic, however, quite an elaborate hierarchy comes into view,[5] many of the details being drawn, no doubt, from Persian sources; this is to be expected, since the main theme of these writings is Heaven and the events therein. The curious beasts (dragons, wyverns, and griffins of later parlance) of the older mythology (including probably the Seraphim of Isaiah,[6] and certainly the Cherubim of Solomon's temple,[7] and their counterparts of Assyria, the winged lions and bulls, *et hoc genus omne*) give place to spiritual

[1] Hastings, *D.B.* vol. 1, p. 94; cf. Oesterley, *Last Things*, pp. 44 ff.
[2] Is. 6. [3] Gen. 19 and 32. 1. [4] 2 Sam. 24; 2 Ki. 19. 35.
[5] Cf. Porter, *Messages of the Apocalyptic Writers*, pp. 58 ff. Scott, *Rev.* p. 30, "This becomes very marked in Apocalyptic literature, and one of its indications is the development in this period of a doctrine of Angels, an order of created but superhuman beings, who are regarded as mediators of intercourse between God and man. They were felt to be necessary in order to bridge the gulf which seemed to be ever widening. . . ." Oesterley, *Mediation*, pp. 37 ff. and 194 ff. In the Pseud-epigrapha there is a stronger form of this angel mediation. Enoch also plays the same rôle. Michael is arch-mediator. The efficacy of sacrifice is largely depreciated. [6] Is. 6. [7] 1 Ki. 6. 23, 32.

beings of human form.[1] They are of many kinds and ranks; nine "regiments" are mentioned,[2] and military terms often used of them; there are Guardian Angels of various nations,[3] the Angels of the Presence,[4] the Grigori or Watchers,[5] Holy Ones,[6] Archangels,[7] besides the nine orders already mentioned. They act as mediators between God and Man;[8] their great work is to present prayer and praise before God.[9] They are immense in number,[10] even though some have fallen from their high estate.[11] Some of them are given names (Michael,[12] Gabriel,[13] and Raphael,[14] and several

[1] Dan. 9. 21; 10. 5, 16, 18; 12. 6. Sec. En. 18. 1, "Grigori, of human appearance."

[2] Sec. En. 20. 1, "Fiery troops . . . nine regiments."

[3] Dan. 10. 13, 20, 21.

[4] Tob. 12. 15; Jub. 1. 27; 2. 2; T. Jud. 25. 2.

[5] Sec. En. 18. 1; En. 12. 4; Dan. 4. 13, 17.

[6] En. 1. 9, *et alibi*. See note *ad loc.* Charles, *Apoc. and Pseud.* vol. 2, p. 189.

[7] Sec. En. 19. 3; T. Levi 3. 5 *a*.

[8] T. Dan 6. 2, "The angel that intercedeth for you, for he is a mediator between God and man . . ." Tob. 12. 12, "I did bring the memorial of your prayer before the Holy One. . . ."

[9] Tob. 12. 15, "I am Raphael, one of the seven holy angels, which present the prayers of the saints." T. Levi 5. 6, "I am the angel who intercedeth for the nation of Israel. . . ."

[10] Sec. En. 11. 4, "And by day fifteen myriads of angels attend it and by night a thousand." En. 1. 9, "Ten thousands of holy ones"; 40. 1, "And after that I saw thousands of thousands and ten thousand times ten thousand, I saw a multitude beyond number and reckoning, who stood before the Lord of Spirits."

[11] En. 6; 21. 10, "The prison of the angels. . . ." Sec. En. 7. 3, "These are God's apostates who obeyed not God's commands. . . ."

[12] En. 20. 5; 40. 9. For a full account of the Celestial Doubles and their Persian origin see *J. T. S.*, July 1902 (J. H. Moulton).

[13] En. 20. 7; 40. 9. [14] En. 20. 3; 40. 9; Tob. 12. 15.

others[1] are thus distinguished), and various special duties are allotted to them.[2] Their power and importance can be gauged from some of their titles, Thrones, Dominions, Powers, Authorities, and the like.[3]

All this development is assumed, and mostly reproduced, by the New Testament writers. The angels are in human form though glorious;[4] there are the Angels of the Presence,[5] the Guardian Angels,[6] though these perhaps are rather concerned with individuals than with nations. Their ranks are given almost in the same terms (St. Paul mentions *ἄγγελοι, ἀρχάγγελοι, ἀρχαί, ἐξουσίαι, θρόνοι, κυριότητες, δυνάμεις*[7]). The mediation of the angels is less prominent, but St. Paul and St. Stephen both speak of it in connection with the giving of the Law.[8] Their duties of prayer and praise are

[1] En. 20; 40. 2, 9.

[2] En. 20, "The holy angels who watch . . . Uriel . . . over the world and over Tartarus . . . Raphael over the spirits of men . . . Raguel . . . the luminaries . . . Michael . . . over chaos . . . Saraqael . . . over the spirits who sin . . . Gabriel . . . over Paradise and the Serpents and the Cherubim . . . Remiel . . . over those that rise." Sec. En. 4. 1, "Angels who rule the stars"; 10. 3, "Angels . . . bearing angry weapons"; 11. 4, "Angels attend [the sun]"; 17. 1, "Serving the Lord with tympana and organs . . . with sweet and incessant voice . . . the singing of those angels. . . ." Jub. 2. 2, "The angels of the presence . . . of sanctification . . . of the winds . . . clouds . . . darkness . . . snow . . . hail . . . hoar frost . . . thunder and lightning . . . cold . . . heat . . ."

[3] Sec. En. 20. 1.

[4] Ac. 1. 10, *et alibi.*

[5] Lk. 1. 19; Rev. 8. 2.

[6] Mt. 18. 10; Ac. 12. 15. Cf. *J.T.S.*, July 1902.

[7] Ro. 8. 38; 1 Co. 15. 24; Eph. 1. 21; 3. 10; Col. 1. 16; 2. 10; 1 Th. 4. 16. Cf. 1 Pe. 3. 22.

[8] Ga. 3. 19; Ac. 7. 53.

very prominent in the Johannine Apocalypse,[1] and indeed it swarms with them. The fallen angels are mentioned with some details of their fate.[2] So great are their numbers[3] that they are spoken of as armies.[4] Michael[5] and Gabriel[6] appear again by name with their accustomed duties, the "archistratege"[7] of the earlier books is leading the armies of the sky, and the tender messenger has still grander messages to carry. Thus the New Testament uses the same ideas about the angels that the Apocalyptists had made current, and to such an extent do they appear on its pages that there are twice as many mentions of them as in the Old Testament, and of these nearly one half is to be found in its last book. Nowhere does the New Testament reflect the Apocalyptic writings so clearly as in its Angelology.

E. Demons

The idea of fallen angels, which appears for the first time in Apocalyptic writers, gave a convenient explanation for much of the evil in the world. There had not been much need for such an explanation before, for there was no repugnance to the attribution of evil to the tribal Deity.[8] A clear

[1] Rev. *passim*. [2] 2 Pe. 2. 4; Ju. 6.
[3] Rev. 5. 11; He. 12. 22. [4] Lk. 2. 13; Mt. 26. 53.
[5] Ju. 9; Rev. 12. 7. [6] Lk. 1. 19, 26. [7] Sec. En. 22. 6.
[8] Cf. Job 2. 10, "What? shall we receive good at the hand of God, and shall we not receive evil?" Amos 3. 6, "Shall evil befall a city,

example of this may be seen in the two accounts of David's numbering the people : the older historian says that YAHWEH provoked David to commit this sin and then punished him for it,[1] without a hint of anything incongruous ; but the Chronicler, writing after the Exile, not only has more respect for the morals of the Deity, but has learnt something of the forces which oppose His will, and so he says that Satan provoked David to number the people.[2] This was just the process which brought the idea of demons ; not only had the Jews learnt a far higher conception of YAHWEH and His moral demands, but their sojourn in Mesopotamia had brought them in contact with the religion of Persia with its very elaborate systems of Angels and Demons.[3] In the case of the angels, Hebrew names with the termination -el[4] were found for them, but many of the demons retain their Persian names almost unaltered.[5] There was another convenient

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and YAHWEH hath not done it?" Is. 45. 7, "I (*sc.* YAHWEH) make peace and create evil."

[1] 2 Sam. 24. [2] 1 Chron. 21. 1.

[3] Ottley, *Religion of Israel*, p. 154, "In the books of Daniel, Tobit, and 4 Esdras angels are very prominent figures : in their functions, numbers, and organisation, the influence of Persia can be distinctly traced." "It is likewise probable that the accentuation in Persian religion between a good and evil principle tended to give distinctness to the dim figure of the Old Testament 'Satan.' . . . In the later apocryphal and pseudepigraphic writings there is a highly developed demonology which can hardly be independent of Persian influence."

[4] *Vide supra.*

[5] Semjaza, En. 6. 3 ; Azazel, En. 8. 1 ; Lev. 16. 8, 10, 26 ; En. 10. 4. Probably spirit of the desert ; cf. Is. 13. 21 ; 34. 14 ; and *Ency. Bib.*

development of this idea in connexion with the deities of the surrounding heathen tribes; in early days they had been on a level with YAHWEH,[1] then rather inferior but still deities;[2] now that monotheism compelled their rejection they were relegated to the ranks of the demons, exactly as Milton treated them centuries later.[3]

The story of the fallen angels is not quite coherent. The conflict of dualism in practice with monotheism in theory complicated matters, but it seems that most of the rebels were imprisoned till the judgement,[4] a few only being allowed to roam at will;[5] of these, none were able to rise to the heavens proper,[6] but were confined to the lower regions of the air,[7] or in other cases to the surface of the earth;[8] the prisoners, however, were still for the most part in heaven.[9]

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ad voc. Asmodaeus, Tob. 3. 8. Mastema, Jub. *passim*. Cf. Hastings, *D.B.* vol. 4, pp. 988 ff., and vol. 5, pp. 286, 288. En. 6. 7 gives a list, many of whom, though fallen, retain the angel-names ending in -el.

[1] Jud. 11. 24. [2] 1 Ki. 11. 4-8.

[3] Jub. 1. 11, "Sacrifice their children to demons"; 22. 17, "They offer their sacrifices to the dead and they worship evil spirits. . . ." En. 19. 1, "Sacrificing to demons as gods"; 99. 7, "Who worship impure spirits and demons and all kinds of idols." Ps. 106. 37 has the same conception.

[4] Jub. 10. 9, "Let nine parts descend into the place of condemnation."

[5] Jub. 10. 11, "A tenth part of them we left that they might be subject before Satan on the earth."

[6] En. 14. 5, "And from henceforth ye shall not ascend into heaven unto all eternity, and in bonds of the earth the decree has gone forth to bind you for all the days of the world." Cf. 40. 7.

[7] Sec. En. 29. 5, "Flying in the air."

[8] Jub. 5. 6, "Bind them in the depths of the earth"; cf. 10. 8, 9.

[9] Sec. En. 7. 1, 2, "Prisoners hanging"; but see En. 10. 12.

There appears, very naturally, a leader among them; in one account he is kept under guard in the fifth heaven,[1] but more usually he is the leader in mischief, sometimes even boldly appearing before YAHWEH in heaven[2] (for he does not seem to share the disabilities of his followers). There are other principal demons, but several names, which always appear alone, are almost certainly different names for the one King Demon (*e.g.* Satan,[3] Beliar,[4] Sammael,[5] etc.).

The demons are specially engaged in tempting man to sin[6] and plaguing him with diseases,[7] accusing[8] and punishing[9] him; they seem to have complete control of the air,[10] and generally rule this present aeon[11] (that is why it is such a bad environment for the righteous), especially in its distinguishing feature, death.[12]

[1] Sec. En. 7. 3, "Their prince . . . fastened on the fifth heaven. . . ."

[2] Job. 1. 6; En. 40. 7. [3] Ass. Mos. 10. 1; T. Dan 3. 6, etc.

[4] Mart. Is. 1. 9; 2. 4; Jub. 1. 20; T. Reu. 4. 7, 11, etc.

[5] Mart. Is. 1. 12.

[6] En. 69. 4, 6, "One who led astray the sons of God . . . led astray Eve."

[7] Jub. 10. 12, "Their diseases . . . thus the evil spirits were precluded from hurting the sons of Noah."

[8] En. 40. 7, "Fending off the satans . . . forbidding them to come before the Lord of Spirits to accuse them who dwell on the earth. . . ."

[9] En. 53. 3, "All the instruments of Satan (prepared by angels of punishment)."

[10] Sec. En. 29. 5, "Satanail . . . was flying in the air continuously"; see note *ad loc.* in *Apoc. and Pseud.* T. Ben. 3. 4; Asc. Is. 4. 2.

[11] Mart. Is. 2. 4, "The angel of lawlessness, who is the ruler of this world, is Beliar, whose name is Matanbuchus." Asc. Is. 10. 29. En. 54. 6, "Becoming subject to Satan and leading astray those who dwell on the earth."

[12] Wis. 2. 24, "By the envy of the devil death entered into the world." Tob. 3. 8, "Asmodaeus the evil demon slew them." En. 69. 11, "For

New Testament writers are dependent for their beliefs about demons on the same Apocalyptic books from which they learned about the angels; there is the same King Demon, who is almost more potent than before, "Prince of the power of the air,"[1] "god of this aeon,"[2] "ruler of this cosmos,"[3] and his compeers are "the world rulers of this darkness";[4] he is called Satan,[5] Diabolos,[6] Beliar,[7] Beelzeboul,[8] and seventy-nine times is he mentioned under one or other title; physical death is in his power.[9]

The lesser demons (under a Greek name to which they do not correspond very closely in nature) are busy with their old task of temptation[10] and disease,[11] accusation[12] and punishment,[13] their lord with his lies setting them the example, and particularly with one form of plague, "demon-possession."[14]

Their power is much in the air,[15] they are roaming the earth,[16] heathen deities are among their number,[17] and so strong is the dualism that only very special methods will control them till the final struggle and victory of God.[18] Revelation even seems to leave them a place in heaven till then.[19]

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men were created exactly like the angels . . . that they should continue pure and righteous, and death . . . could not have taken hold of them. . . ."

[1] Eph. 2. 2. [2] 2 Co. 4. 4. [3] Jn. 12. 31; 16. 11.
[4] Eph. 6. 12. [5] Mk. 1. 13, etc. [6] Mt. 4. 1, etc.
[7] 2 Co. 6. 15. [8] Mt. 10. 25, etc. [9] Mt. 10. 28; He. 2. 14.
[10] Mt. 4. 1; 1 Co. 7. 5; 1 Th. 3. 5. [11] Mt. 9. 32; Lk. 13. 16.
[12] Rev. 12. 10. [13] 1 Co. 5. 5. Cf. Job 2. 7. [14] Gospels, *passim*.
[15] Eph. 2. 2. [16] Lk. 11. 24-26. [17] 1 Co. 10. 20, 21; Rev. 9. 20.
[18] Mt. 17. 21; Mk. 9. 29. [19] Rev. 12. 8-13.

F. The Son of Man

This title has been the theme of endless controversy in modern times, but it bulks so large in the Apocalyptic books that a brief notice of it cannot be avoided.[1]

The phrase appears in Ezekiel, Daniel, Enoch, and the Gospels, and the difficulty is to find the exact force of it in each case. The Hebrew or Aramaic phrase represented means scarcely more than "a man," but it is distinctly used in the Gospels and Enoch as a personal title. In Ezekiel it may well stand for "O man," and in Daniel it can be taken as a contrast to the bestial forms of the first kingdoms in the vision; the new kingdom was to be human, that is, reasonable and righteous, as opposed to the "brutal" tyrannies which preceded it.

The use in Enoch is somewhat similar; the Son of Man is used in contrast to the animals who have various significations to express his exalted position in knowledge and power. But he is altogether a superhuman figure, which is a new development, not a mere man as in Ezekiel, and also seems to be an individual and not a mere type (as the allegorical form in Daniel). In the part he plays there is a reminiscence of the various Jewish

[1] See, in addition to the Dictionary articles *sub voc.*, the chapter in Schmidt, *Prophet of Nazareth*, p. 94; Dalman, *Words of Jesus*, pp. 234 ff.; Oesterley, *Last Things*, pp. 150 ff.; and Muirhead, *Esch.* pp. 146, 165, 188, 218.

figures[1] used to denote the Deity in action or revelation (Metatron, Bath Qol, and the like), and somewhat similar to the personified Wisdom of the book so called.

In the Gospels our Lord is reported to have used it often of Himself, but always with reference to His suffering or His Parousia (*i.e.* either to emphasize His humanity, reminiscent of the use in Ezekiel, or in an eschatological sense, taken from the prototype in Enoch). It is only used by others on two occasions (the cases in Revelation are taken from Daniel with a similar meaning), once when the crowd echo our Lord's own use of it,[2] and the second time when St. Stephen is presumably quoting the phrase used by our Lord before Caiaphas;[3] it is never used of our Lord as a title by any writer in the New Testament.

The difficulty raised as to the use of it by our Lord of Himself is twofold. Could the phrase be understood as a title in Aramaic? (whether He spoke in Greek has been considered elsewhere). How could He have used the well-known title in Enoch and yet ask not to be made known as Messiah?[4] It may be suggested that He desired to claim the title of Humanity in contradistinction

[1] Dalman, *Words of Jesus*, p. 204.

[2] Jn. 12. 34. [3] Ac. 7. 56.

[4] The difficulty of our Lord's desire to claim formally and definitely His position as Messiah and yet to avoid popular wrong-headed action against the Roman power, caused by the conflicting policies of Sadducees, Pharisees, and Herodians, is clearly set forth in *Political Relations of Christ's Ministry* (Liberty), p. 119.

to the "Divine Fossil" which the legalists had made of the Torah: this would be abundantly in keeping with the claim He undoubtedly made, and which all allowed—that He was a Prophet, the living Voice, and not a Scribe, the "mortevoix" of Torah.

But whatever may be the solution of the problem, the result is the same for our purpose; whether we owe the phrase to our Lord Himself or to the Evangelists in the first instance, it cannot be doubted that (as used, at least, in several instances) it is taken from the book of Enoch,[1] and used with the same Apocalyptic sense and meaning as there; we have already seen that it is largely used of the Parousia, and the other use in connexion with Messianic suffering is of a piece with other Messianic passages of the New Testament, especially that recorded of the walk to Emmaus.

[1] Charles, *Esch.* p. 261, "This last title is found in its definite form for the first time in the Parables (*sc.* of Enoch), and is historically the source of the New Testament designation, if the date assigned to the former is correct." G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, vol. 2, p. 538, "In the 'Similitudes' of the *Book of Enoch* the doctrine of the Messiah assumes an original form destined to have great influence on the New Testament."

PART II

LANGUAGE

CHAPTER IV

THE LINGUA FRANCA

Not the least part of the preparation for the Gospel Message was the provision of a suitable linguistic medium. The Hebrew used by the early writers of Israel, with all its wealth of poetic imagery and its terse simplicity of speech, was decidedly unfitted for expressing the more recondite forms of religious thought.[1] Moreover, by its Semitic character and its repellent script it was bound to be unwelcome to all the more progressive peoples of the Western world.

A. The World Language

But growing up, not so far away or much later in date, was another tongue, forged by a people of high intellect and extreme subtlety of thought —a tongue used to-day as a quarry for the large majority of our scientific "kainologia," and not least in the Queen of Sciences. This tongue, which

[1] This may partially explain the persistent popularity of the Old Testament among the unlettered in this and every age.

we know as Greek, came into Jewish life about three centuries before our Era, with momentous consequences for the growth of religion, both to Jew and Gentile.[1] It had become by this time, partly from its own intrinsic worth, partly by reason of the conquests of Alexander, and partly on account of the conscious propagation of Hellenic thought and culture, the common language of the Mediterranean basin.[2] The Jews of the Dispersion used it, of necessity, almost exclusively. Its accompaniments of freedom and culture had been largely responsible for inducing so many Jews to undergo a voluntary exile. Partly by reflex action from these Dispersion Jews, and partly by a growing erudition which began to study Gentile books, a knowledge of Greek and Greek writings gained currency also in the Holy Land itself, with an additional impetus given by the practical convenience of knowing the language of the governing dynasty, whether Ptolemies or Seleucids.[3]

[1] Kennedy, *Sources of N.T. Greek*, p. 9, ". . . its employment by an alien and deeply-prejudiced race to set forth their own highest conceptions. This means a new demand on the resources of the Greek speech, a new test of its plasticity and scope."

[2] Cicero, *Pro Arch. Poet.* § 23, "Graeca leguntur in omnibus fere gentibus." See Roberts, *Greek the Language of Christ*, pp. 31 ff., where many authorities are quoted. The famous warning to aliens on the Soreg of the Temple was in Greek (G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, vol. 1, p. 425). Moulton, *Manchester Theological Lectures*, Series I. p. 168, "We cannot too strongly insist that the language in which the Greek Testament comes to us is essentially a world-language. . . . Juvenal records for us the disgust with which, as he says, he found the City turned Greek."

[3] G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, vol. 2, p. 484, "Greek terms of civil or military administration were already fairly numerous, for the Jews had

This absorption of the Greek language into the life of Judaism, and the enrichment of it with a large body of theological words and ideas, forms a considerable part of the preparation for the Gospel unconsciously wrought by the Jews of this period.

1. It was one of the vehicles by which the Jew came into real touch with the Gentile world, and with its most important part, the world of thought. We shall probably never know, but we can readily guess, how much the soil was prepared by the slow infiltration of Jewish beliefs into the masses who had lost all real faith in the old Pagan religions, a slow fertilization, as it were, before the Gospel seed came.[1]

2. It enabled a great development in Jewish thought; Philo could not have written in Hebrew all the thoughts he was able to express in Greek; and very much of the later developments of Jewish thought are, as we have seen, presupposed by the writers of the first Christian books. The book of Wisdom is the striking example of the alliance

been under Greek kings and familiar with their garrisons since Alexander; while the fact that nearly all the names for popular forms of government are Greek is significant of that influence of Hellenic cities upon Jewish politics. . . . In architecture the foreign terms are mainly Greek . . . things connected with the sea are Greek. In astrology, geometry, literature, medicine, philosophy and religion, the foreign terms are, of course, almost exclusively Greek."

[1] See G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, vol. 2, pp. 398-419. On the same point Moffatt (*Introd. to N.T.* p. 22) refers to Harnack, *S.B.B.A.* 1902, pp. 508 ff., *M.A.C.* vol. 1, pp. 279 ff., 284 ff., and Deissmann, *Neue Jahrbücher für das klass. Alterthum* (1903), pp. 161 ff.

of Hebrew and Greek thought, and the influence of this book,[1] as well as of Philo,[2] on the Pauline writings shows us how great was the contribution of Hellenistic Judaism to Christianity and how much it differed from the legalist form in the Talmud.

3. By the translation of the Old Testament, and the very much wider use of the translation than the original[3] (for it may be assumed that the Jews of the Dispersion outnumbered those of Palestine, and Gentile readers would of course use the Greek version), many fundamental terms were given their Jewish and monotheistic meaning, and had time to crystallize before Christianity needed them; thus they came to the hearers of the new message with all the prestige of sacred phrases.[4]

4. This alliance of Hebrew and Greek not only provided much thought and language, phrases and terms, for the first preachers of the Gospel and the writers of the New Testament, but also for

[1] Goodrick, *Wisdom*, pp. 399 ff.

[2] Jowett, *Epistles of St. Paul*, vol. 1, p. 382.

[3] Kennedy, *op. cit.* p. 85, "The LXX. must have been well known at least to the great mass of intelligent and educated Jews."

[4] Kennedy, *op. cit.* p. 94, "Already the religious and theological ideas of the Hebrew people had been clothed in a Greek dress. This had involved many difficulties, but they had been in great measure surmounted. So that there was a technical theological vocabulary actually existing." See Hatch, *Value and Use of the Septuagint.* Swete, *Introd. to O.T. in Greek*, p. 450, "But the New Testament has been yet more widely and more deeply influenced by the version through the subtler forces which show themselves . . . in the use of a vocabulary derived from it, and in many cases prepared by it for the higher service of the Gospel."

the former a language for preaching and teaching which could be understood as well at Jerusalem as Rome, in Athens or Alexandria, or wherever in the Empire the missionary might roam,[1] and for the latter the valuable literary device of the didactic Epistle.[2] It provided too a considerable literature for study and quotation; not only Philo and Wisdom, but the majority of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, spring from this source. The same alliance is obvious in the earliest liturgies, which, even at Rome, are exclusively in Greek, while their material is either taken from the Greek Bible, or composed in imitation of it, on a largely Jewish plan borrowed from the Synagogue worship.

This modelling upon the Greek language and thought of the ancient heritage of Jewish faith as the beginning of Christian activity was one of the greatest steps taken in ancient times towards making a real world-religion,[3] and is the direct

[1] Moulton (*Camb. Bib., Essays*), p. 468, ". . . Paul would have provoked no comment whether he preached in Tarsus or in Alexandria, in Corinth or in Rome."

[2] Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, p. 39, ". . . looking at the writing of early Christianity from the standpoint of literary history, we perceive that Jewish literature was precisely the literary sphere from which the first Christians could most readily borrow and adopt something in the way of forms." "The way by which the epistle entered the sphere of Jewish authorship is manifest: Alexandria, the classical soil of the epistle and the pseudo-epistle . . ." (Exx. Jer. 29; Ep. Jer.; Ep. Arist.; Letters in 2 Macc.; Ep. Baruch).

[3] Hatch, *Hibbert Lectures*. Introduction and First Lecture, for further action of Greek thought on Christianity. Deissmann, *Light from Ancient East*, p. 58, "St. Paul and others spoke and wrote the international language and the New Testament took final form as a Greek

outcome of the Hellenizing of Judaism in the period we are considering. But the influence can be more closely traced in the particular form of Greek employed.

B. The Vulgar Tongue

Until a comparatively recent period, there was a theory almost universally accepted, that the language of the New Testament was a peculiar tongue, sundered alike from the Hebrew of the old Canon, and the Greek of classical Hellas. Commentaries still in use express it, and assume it as a fundamental of exegesis. Even so late as 1894, such a scholar as Blass could write that New Testament Greek must be "recognized as something peculiar."[1] Nor is it surprising, when we remember that, with the exception of the Septuagint, there was little or no respectable literature anything like resembling it. The Septuagint too is somewhat of a different style, and was known to be a translation,[2] so its evidence was taken for little worth.

book." Moulton (*Camb. Bib., Essays*), p. 504, "And then we find that this wonderful language, which we knew once as the refined dialect of a brilliant people inhabiting a mere corner of a small country, had become the world-speech of civilisation. For one (and this one) period in history only, the curse of Babel seemed undone. Exhausted by generations of bloodshed, the world rested in peace under one firm government, and spoke one tongue, current even in Imperial Rome. And the Christian thinker looks on all this, and sees the finger of God."

[1] Deissmann, *op. cit.* p. 62 n. 1. Cremer a year earlier even called it "a language of the Holy Ghost" (*Lexicon of N. T. Greek*, p. iv).

[2] See Swete, *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, pp. 289 ff.

Other writers, known and honoured, belonging to the same period, wrote a very different language, not so very unlike Attic prose, and not in the least resembling what classical scholars would call the "strange jargon" of the Sacred Books.[1] But, however plausible, this view cannot be held now; the distinction between the affected Attic of the literary folk, such as Philo and Josephus, and the spoken *lingua franca* of the Mediterranean lands,[2] has been made quite clear by the labours of many scholars in the last few decades upon the ever-increasing records on stone,[3] papyrus,[4] or potsherd,[5] now for the first time fully examined, valued, and edited (whether found in the sands of Egypt or

[1] Alone of earlier scholars, Lightfoot had an inkling of the truth. He is reported to have said in 1863, "If we could only recover letters that ordinary people wrote to each other without any thought of being literary, we should have the greatest possible help for the understanding of the language of the N.T. generally."

[2] Peake, *Manch. Theol. Lec.* Ser. I. p. 48, ". . . papyri . . . have shown us that the language of the New Testament was the Greek commonly spoken at the time, and have also afforded us many examples of words hitherto unknown outside the Greek Bible." Moulton, *ibid.* p. 172, ". . . simply the language of the common people . . ." Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, p. 54, ". . . the language to which we are accustomed in the New Testament is on the whole just the kind of Greek that simple unlearned folk of the Roman Imperial period were in the habit of using."

[3] The permanent public inscription or tombstone epitaph was carefully carved in durable stone.

[4] Papyrus, the prototype of paper, made from the fibres of an Egyptian plant, formed the light rolls for writing books, though occasionally used for such purposes as private letters or certificates.

[5] Potsherds (*ostraca*) formed the cheapest writing material (the broken fragments of crockery) and were used for most purposes by the poorer classes, for notes, or receipts, and the like.

the galleries of European museums). We have had revealed to us for the first time a new dialect, with a considerable literature (if it may so be called) partly of new discovered texts, and partly of books now recognized to be of the same class —all made known to us within some thirty years.[1] This has been little less than a revolution for the study of the New Testament.

That we have had to wait so long for this discovery is less due to the recentness of the finding of these ancient autographic records than to the fact that all Greek study has been enslaved to the same narrow convention which animated Philo and Josephus. What we learned at school as Greek is only a small dialect of a widespread language, which, by reason of the surpassing genius of a number of writers who employed and shaped it, has been chosen as the only proper vehicle of Hellenic literature to the exclusion of all the rest. And though this dialect had its share in moulding the commonly spoken Greek of New Testament times, its most distinctive features were more or less intentionally dropped, and much assimilated to other dialects. Thus the later forms, being distinctly non-Attic, have been classed as decadent, or extraordinary.

Now it is quite true that no one can write

[1] A glance at the dates in the Bibliography will show how very modern are the works used and quoted, about 30 out of 80 being not yet ten years old (58 within the present century) and only three older than the limit given in the text—all works of a quite general character.

exactly in the form of common speech, yet an artless writing down, and the use of ordinary words and phrases, can easily be contrasted with a carefully polished form evidently made only for reading. And it was this method of writing which was adopted by the translators of the Torah into Greek. Of course there are many peculiarities caused both by their composing in a foreign language and the difficulty of expressing ideas very foreign to Greek mentality.[1] But nevertheless it is abundantly clear that they deliberately eschewed the pseudo-Attic affected by nearly every writer of the time,[2] and used instead the words and phrases of the colloquial Greek commonly spoken in Alexandria at the time.[3] This fact disposes once and for all

[1] This, however, is not without advantage to students. Cf. Hatch, *Essays in Biblical Greek*, p. 14, "For the meaning of the great majority of its words and phrases we are not left solely to the inferences which may be made by comparing one passage with another in either the LXX. itself or other monuments of Hellenistic Greek. We can refer to the passage of which they are translations, and in most cases frame inductions as to their meaning, which are as certain as any philological induction can be."

[2] Moulton (*Camb. Bib.*, *Essays*), p. 489, ". . . 'literature' was always written in a dialect of its own. From this convention . . . the Greek translators of the Pentateuch boldly broke away." p. 476, ". . . that it was not the Greek of the books may be seen most vividly by comparing [the Saga of Joseph] with the two dozen pages in which Josephus showed how elegantly the story ran when rescued from its unadorned simplicity and clothed in the Attic which everybody wrote and nobody had spoken for generations. But it was good Greek for all that."

[3] Kennedy, *op. cit.* p. 23, "We believe that the more the language of the LXX. is studied, the more clearly will it be seen that, in spite of strong Hebrew colouring and the moulding force of Jewish conceptions, the LXX. does afford a lucid and graphic view of the Greek of Alexandria." Swete, *op. cit.* p. 20, "The Greek of the Alexandrian Pentateuch is

of the hoary legend that the translation was made for the King of Egypt;[1] they would never have dared to offer him any such thing; Royal ears might be shocked by such vulgar phraseology. But if not of Royal origin, it has perhaps the distinction of being the first important piece of writing of a designedly democratic cast.[2] This is of considerable importance for the propagating of religion, as strict literature tends to concern itself only with the affairs of gods and aristocrats, while, the homeliness of the Bible commends itself as familiar matter to the great majority who are not in "high life."

The later books of the Old Testament were translated at a subsequent date, and though they are not quite homogeneous with the first portion, do more or less adhere to this practice of using the common speech as their basis. This was not so with books composed in Greek such as Wisdom.[3] It is clear even in the English translation how much this book has in common with the Attic writers, both in words and turns of phrase. This again was intentional, for Wisdom, in common

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Egyptian, and, as far as we can judge, not such as Palestinian translators would have written."

[1] See Swete, *Introd. to O.T. in Greek*, pp. 10 ff., esp. p. 19, "An official version would assuredly have avoided such barbarisms."

[2] Kennedy, *op. cit.* p. 70, "The translation of the Old Testament into Greek was an existing fact, which proved the possibility of writing for the common people in a speech which they could easily understand."

[3] *Ibid.* pp. 51-53.

with Philo and Josephus, knew the earlier parts of the LXX. well, but preferred the supposedly artistic style of composition.[1]

When we turn to the New Testament we find they follow for the most part the old precedent.[2] Allowing fully for words and forms of speech distinctly Jewish,[3] and for the very large amount which is common to all forms of Greek,[4] still we find this marked colloquialism; not slovenly or tending to slang, but plain and easy to be understood by those who knew little of literature. Much of it would sound when read as the natural expression of a cultured person, but free from all conceits.[5] A good deal also is clearly the work of less cultured folk. Some qualifications are needed in case of the slighter differences in one or two writers, who tend either to violent Semitism or to some pretence at Attic, but on the whole it is distinctly popular, and owes this form to the precedent set by the Jewish translators of the LXX. Thus

[1] Kennedy, *op. cit.* p. 57.

[2] Deissmann, *New Light on the New Testament*, p. 46, "Leaving the Epistle to the Hebrews out of account, we must say . . . that the New Testament is the people's book."

[3] Charles, *Studies in the Apocalypse*, pp. 79 ff., esp. p. 82, "while he writes in Greek he thinks in Hebrew."

[4] About 20 per cent is non-classical, the remainder being common to all Greek. This is rather nearer to the grammarians' norm than the LXX. See Kennedy, *op. cit.* p. 62.

[5] Kennedy, *op. cit.* p. 71, "Still their diction was thoroughly popular in character, essentially a *spoken* language, and not that of books, but yet the language spoken by men of education." This is rather a dangerous generalization, more true of St. Paul. The gospels often have solecisms which grate on the ears.

we have the same "vulgar tongue" in the New Testament, so valuable for the many unlettered converts ("not many noble" [1]).

By this same Jewish translation was provided a mine of technical terms of Jewish theology, ready in a Greek dress, and as it were an authorized version of the Scriptures which could be appealed to in any assembly of Greek-speaking Jews, and the only form known to Gentiles.

[1] 1 Co. 1. 26.

CHAPTER V

THE QUESTION OF CANONICITY

More was done, however, by the Jews of our period for beginnings of Christianity than the provision of a translation of the Old Scriptures into a popular version. Many new writings were produced, some directly in the vernacular, others translated from Hebrew originals; partly reflecting and copying the older books, partly very new in matter and form, depending on the Greek world for matter as well as language. Some of these are now an integral part of the LXX., others have only lately become known to us in very unusual tongues.

Thus the blank between the Old and New Testament books has been largely filled up, and the question inevitably arises whether the New Testament writers knew these books, and made use of them by way of quotation or borrowing of ideas and phrases from them.[1] This question would

[1] This is decidedly the view of Dr. Jackson, *Eschatology of Jesus*, p. 175, "When the respective writings of the New Testament are subjected

have been met with a very positive negation until quite recently, on the score of the exclusion of these same writings from the Jewish Canon; as excluded, they would be unknown, or at least of such doubtful character that anything like literary use of them would be impossible.

But it can be no longer assumed that exclusion from the Canon carried any such results; the Canon of Jewish Scripture was not finally settled until after the New Testament was written, when a large body of Jewish thinkers had become Christian, leaving only certain types to represent Judaism as a whole; we must not think that Judaism of the time of Christ was the same thing as that of the Rabbis of Jabneh after the Destruction of the Holy City.[1] Moreover, the Church has had more than one mind as to the exclusion or inclusion in the Christian Canon of books admitted or excluded by the Rabbis. It may be therefore presumed that there was no such "water-tight compartment" regard for the Canon in the days when the New Testament was written, such as that to which we have been accustomed, and there are

to critical investigation, they reveal points of contact with, dependence on, now one and now another apocalyptic work, the very existence of which is still unknown to ordinary Bible students."

[1] Schmidt, *Prophet of Nazareth*, p. 110, "To draw a picture of Jewish society in general at the beginning of our era from the discussion of lawyers in the Talmuds is not only to read back later ideas and conditions into an earlier age, but to do injustice by a false generalization to a national life that freely developed in many directions. . . . Galilee was notorious for what were regarded in Jerusalem as laxer conceptions."

many reasons to show that the first Christian writers would treat books now outside the Canon with quite equal regard as those included.[1]

1. The then extant Jewish literature was far greater than it is now, and would be found in Greek or Aramaic according to the desire of readers, and many books now only to be found in Greek were then also known, and indeed originally written, in Aramaic. It was primarily for the convenience of Jews who were unfamiliar with Hebrew that the LXX. translation was made. So that the mere question of language carried no question of canonicity or inspiration *ipso facto*, as it seems to have done in many minds at the period of reform in the sixteenth century.

2. So far from this being the case with the writers of the New Testament, it is clear that they often prefer to quote the LXX. rather than the Hebrew, and sometimes do so in such a way (to say the least) as to exalt it at the expense of the original.[2] This may be seen in the use of καὶ

[1] C. A. Scott, *Revelation*, p. 33, "And if we find reason to suppose that John derived some of his material, not only from the Old Testament, but also from extra-canonical books, and especially from apocalypses which were current in his generation, it would only be what the comparative study of this literature would lead us to expect."

[2] For an account of the New Testament use of the LXX. see Swete, *Introd. to O.T. in Greek*, pp. 381-405. Roberts, *Greek the Language of Christ*, p. 134, "For, on glancing at the Old Testament passages cited in the New, we find that the great majority of them are expressed in the very words of the LXX., while others, though differing slightly, are manifestly derived from it." Kennedy, *Sources of N.T. Greek*, p. 85, ". . . about 300 quotations from the Old Testament. At least 90 of

διεστραμμένη quoted from Deut. 32. 5, by Mt. 17. 17, and Lk. 9. 41. Now this same Version commonly included several books and parts of books not found in the Hebrew Canon; if then the New Testament writers prefer it to the original, they will probably treat these books as of equal value with the rest, and quote from them, when they so desire, in the same way.[1]

3. The absence of either a formulated Canon ("the defiling of the hands" is a very much later development of Judaism[2]) or a Codex which would contain a certain number of books to the exclusion of others not in the selection, would prevent any hard-and-fast rule being made or observed. The

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these agree verbally with the LXX. In the others the variations from it are trifling. More important still, in 37 of the 90 the LXX. differs from the Hebrew text." Jowett, *Ep. of St. Paul*, vol. 1, p. 199, "None of these passages offer any certain proof that the Apostle was acquainted with the Hebrew original." Even the Hebraic First Gospel follows this usage — only one citation appears to be corrected from the Hebrew, and this is an uncertain instance; see, however, the caution in Charles' *Studies in the Apocalypse*, p. 88. The same exclusive citation of the LXX. is found in the Ascension of Isaiah (3. 2, 6); see Burkitt, *Apoc.* p. 73; Charles, *Ap. and Ps.* vol. 2, p. 426. Two other striking cases where the New Testament follows the LXX. against the Hebrew are Ac. 15. 16, 17, where the argument turns on a LXX. mistranslation (this in the mouth of St. James, too!), and Ac. 7. 26-28, which gives χθές, which has no equivalent in the Hebrew.

[1] The first challenge of the accuracy of the LXX. as a translation came when the Jews tried to meet Christian arguments drawn from it. Cf. Swete, *Introd. to O.T. in Greek*, p. 30.

[2] Schmidt, *op. cit.* p. 110, "It is doubtful whether the process had more than begun in the days of Jesus, by which the religious books read in the Synagogue were reduced into a canon through the exclusion of the rolls that a majority of scholars did not consider as rendering the hands 'unclean.'"

"sacred writings" consisted of many separate rolls, vouched for, principally, by their contents, often without a title, and containing not infrequently several compositions of varying dates and values. In customary usage the Minor Prophets formed one such roll, and only the names in the opening verses of each enable us to distinguish them. In the case of the Book of Isaiah, two or more writings seem to have been attributed to one man simply from the fact that they were usually to be found on the same roll. It would be interesting in this connexion to estimate how far common English prejudice against the Apocrypha is based solely on the fact that it is not usually included in printed copies of the Bible, and how far on a genuine valuation of its contents.

4. The Jewish Rabbis frequently quote from the extra-canonical books, especially that of Ben-Sira. Therefore, as the New Testament writers were almost without exception Jews (three of them markedly Jewish in thought and practice, while another, the most prolific writer of them all, was a disciple of Gamaliel), it will be most probable that we shall find them following the Rabbinic tradition in this matter.

5. The Apocryphal books which have come down to us contain a large measure of obviously Christian interpolations which can only be accounted for by the assumption that these books were known and valued by the early Church.[1]

[1] Burkitt, *op. cit.* p. 11, "Among the Christians, on the other hand,

6. The evidence of early Christian writers must have some weight as to the practice of their predecessors of the New Testament, and we find the Epistle of Barnabas, which almost won a place in the Canon, quoting Enoch as Holy Scripture,[1] and Tertullian does the same. The suspicion which excluded this and other books is later in growth,[2] and we therefore may assume that the New Testament writers are likely to be less critical than those who followed them, rather than the reverse.

7. The Jewish religion which forms the basis and background of the Teaching of the "Way" was very different from that of the days before

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they were long current, and Christian Apocalypses . . . were composed in imitation of them."

[1] Latimer Jackson, *Eschatology of Jesus*, p. 187. Burkitt, *Apocalypses*, p. 10. Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, small ed. p. 261. Barn. 16. 5 (from En. 89. 56, 66), λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή . . . Tertullian's argument is interesting: "since Enoch in the same Scripture also predicted concerning the Lord, by us Christians the view is not at all to be rejected that it does concern us, and we read that *all scripture which is suitable for edification is divinely inspired* (2 Ti. 3. 16). That by the Jews it should seem to have been afterwards rejected, like most of the other things that have a Christian ring, is not so very wonderful, *i.e.* if they have not received certain scriptures about Him whom they would not receive when He was speaking to them in person" (*De Cultu Fem.* 1. 3). Irenaeus (ed. Harvey, vol. 2, p. 190) knows the book, "Enoch . . . Dei legatione ad angelos fungebatur," quoting it as at least good history.

[2] Origen, Jerome, and Augustine speak in a crescendo of disapproval; cf. Jackson, *op. cit.* p. 187. Burkitt, *op. cit.* p. 18, "We are more likely to find bad literary and historical criticism in an 'early' Christian document than a 'late' one; 'moderation' is likely to be the mark of the second generation rather than the first, and certainly the respect paid in the Epistle of Jude to the book of Enoch is no reason for putting that Epistle late."

or immediately after the Exile. The work of the Chasidim in teaching and codifying the Torah and the customs arising therefrom, and in providing for a high standard of conduct in changing surroundings, had made a vast improvement in moral and religious ideals, and had no small share (little as this is usually admitted) in "preparing the way of the Lord." The Apocrypha partly records this forward movement, and partly is itself the literature of the Reformers, the "Tracts" of a "Movement" in the two or three centuries before the coming of our Lord.[1] It will be natural, therefore, to suppose that the New Testament writers would know and value this literature.

There are also other considerations of a more general character which would lead us to expect, in the absence of anything like a strict Canon, that there would be some dependence of thought and language on the earlier writings.

α. Books were scarce in those days, and those that could be obtained were doubtless very thoroughly studied, and their language mastered in a way impossible to expect of our age; memories, too, were trained to be very retentive of what had been read, for these few volumes were by no means always at hand for reference; consequently, words and phrases would be re-

[1] They have been called "Tracts for Bad Times" (C. A. Scott, in *The Century Bible*, Revelation, p. 27). Cf. Charles, *Eschatology*, p. 190, "Prophecy . . . the greatest ethical force in the ancient world. Such also was Apocalyptic in its time."

membered, and readily used, if suitable, for a new composition.[1]

b. Plagiarism in literature was common, and, far from being reprobated, was the accepted usage. Our modern ideas of copyright, and proprietary interests in the offspring of a man's brain, are much less historic than we are apt to imagine.

As an instance of this, from about the same time,—not only does Virgil shamelessly borrow from the *Odyssey*, but even makes this borrowing, this slavish following of the earlier work, the great political purpose of the *Aeneid*. The very first lines are not his own!

And to show how late this idea persisted, in our own land, in no less a person than Shakespeare himself, we find exactly the same thing; he borrows plots from the earlier dramatists for almost every one of his plays; lines and even whole scenes by other hands appear in some of the works which bear his name, while others may be quite alien in origin and attributed to him for mercenary reasons. In like manner he contributed in large or small quantity to the plays by others of his company, or collaborated with them in a joint work. The play was the thing, not the author; as the profit went to the joint purse, it mattered little who wrote it, and it was regarded as the joint property of all, each doing his best to

[1] Cf. Toy, *Quotations in the New Testament*, Introduction, esp. pp. x and xx.

prevent outsiders making use of it, though recognizing a perfect moral right for them to do so if they could manage it.

At the same time care must be taken not to overlook other probabilities which would have just the opposite effect, that of hindering or lessening the influence of the Apocrypha on the New Testament writers.[1]

A. No one writer probably (owing to the same scarcity of books already noticed) would be acquainted with all even of the now extant books. Thus there is parallel of the remotest kind traceable between St. Jude and Wisdom (though this fact may be owing to other causes).

B. There is a great difference of subject and outlook. What must St. Paul have thought of the philosophy of Ben-Sira, who certainly would not "suffer fools gladly." In fact, the tone of much of the Wisdom literature, whether in or out of the Canon, is selfish and legalist to a painful degree. Still St. Paul was "a Pharisee and the son of a Pharisee," and may contrive to utilize the older Pharisaic books while giving them a more altruistic application.

C. The difference, too, in language is in some

[1] These considerations gain weight from the caution given by Dr. Hatch (*Hibbert Lectures*, p. 10) as to the value of surviving evidence, ". . . tendency to overrate the value of the evidence which has survived . . . few, if any, writers write with the precision of a legal document . . . tendency to underestimate the importance of opinions that have disappeared from sight or which we know only in the form and to the extent of their quotation by their opponents."

cases quite startling. The sesquipedalian magniloquence of the last ten chapters of the Book of Wisdom is hardly in keeping with the blunt vernacular of St. Paul, yet parallels will be more convincing for this very reason if they can be found.[1]

D. In the case, too, of parallels with writers who are ever borrowing Greek words and phrases from Classical sources (as many of the Apocryphal writers do without always understanding their meaning, just as they will coin a new word from one they know or think they know, to serve their purpose) it is very difficult to say whether such are derived from the older Jewish author, or from a common ancestor in Hellas.

E. It has been pointed out also (*Apoc. and Pseud.* vol. 1, p. 159) that as our Lord spoke in Aramaic, there can be no influence on His sayings by the Apocrypha so far as words are concerned. It is not quite certain, however, that a native of Galilee would thus be tied to his native tongue,[2] and

[1] It may be necessary to add a justification of this assumption of a divided authorship of Wisdom; this is succinctly given in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia* (*sub voce*, vol. 12, p. 539), "the last section (10-19) is devoid of all connection with what precedes. . . . [It appears] to be part of a Passover Haggadah." Whether or no the first nine chapters form a homogeneous whole (which the above writer doubts) there seems no escape from the conclusion about the last chapters, the change in language and style, of subject and address, are both marked and startling. The only alternative is to call it a schoolboy essay in Greek Composition which has been appended to a mature work of the same hand at a much later period of life.

[2] Muirhead, *Eschatology of Jesus*, p. 152, "While it is highly probable, it is not certain that in His public discourses Jesus habitually used Aramaic. Preaching to the mixed multitudes of Galilee and the

some arguments have been used to show that the northern parts of Palestine were almost bi-lingual, using Greek for official and commercial purposes. But, on the other assumption, it would still be possible for the Evangelists to report the Aramaic sayings in the phraseology of the older books when the subject of the discourse was the same. And not a few of these same books, now extant only in Greek or other non-Jewish language, were then current in Aramaic, and a phrase recognized by the Evangelist would be given in Greek from the Greek translation of its source.

F. Nor will there be less difficulty in being certain about quotations which would be quite obvious to one whose native literature consisted of these same books; for it is possible to quote a passage in a somewhat different sense and with many of its words changed, only retaining a word or two as a clue to the original. An example of this method of quotation in English is to be found in *Vanity Fair*, chap. 17. Thackeray is talking in a highly sarcastic way about the care with which "Society" keeps ordinary mortals at a distance, and takes a metaphorical illustration from the Story

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Decapolis, it is *probable* that He *sometimes*, and *possible* that He *habitually* used Greek." Cf. Roberts, *Greek the Language of Christ and His Apostles*. Longmans, 1888. Cf. Roberts, *A Short Proof that Greek was the Language of Christ*. Gardner, Paisley, 1893. A comparison has been drawn in a former chapter between the political position of Palestine and Switzerland; its tri-lingualism may be a further point of similarity.

of Man's Expulsion from the Garden of Eden; reverence, real or assumed, prevents him doing so except by allusion: "portals . . . guarded by grooms of the chamber with flaming silver forks . . ."; and, but for that one word flaming, we should never have seen the comparison of the grooms of the chamber to the cherubic guards of Paradise, nay, we may well expect that Macaulay's New Zealander, when he unearths a copy, after much puzzling and learned comment will eventually emend it into "shining."

The surroundings of a phrase, moreover, may utterly change its meaning; thus the LXX. naturally and fairly adequately translates the common greeting "Shalom" by *ὕπαγ' εἰς εἰρήνην*—go in peace; but the almost identical phrase in classical Greek *ἄπαγ' εἰς μακαρίαν* has a very different and decidedly sinister meaning.

It may, however, be now assumed that there is a considerable probability, rather than the reverse, that these books, well known and read though afterwards rejected, will be known to the writers of the New Testament, and that they will use them if they suit their purpose.

CHAPTER VI

THE USE OF APOCRYPHAL BOOKS

With this preliminary probability that the first Christian writers knew and valued the books which later Judaism refused to admit into the Canon, we turn to the texts themselves to discover whether this is so, and to what extent this influence has been admitted.

1. There is one acknowledged quotation by a New Testament writer from an Apocryphal book—the well-known case of Jude *v.* 14—and though this is the only example to be found with certainty, it proves our case, for this writer knows the Book of Enoch (which finds no place even in the extended Canon of the Greek Bible), and quotes it to the extent of a passage of thirty-five words, with exactly the same form and recognition which he accords to the books of the Jewish Canon.[1]

In this crucial passage we are fortunate in having the Greek of the Gizeh fragment to compare with

[1] Burkitt, *op. cit.* p. 17, "This is a definite quotation which cannot be gainsaid. . . . It is no mere illustration, no coincidence of ideas. 'Enoch' is quoted by name as inspired prophecy."

the New Testament passage, as it is more than likely that it represents the text used by Jude rather than a Hebrew one. The resemblance of the two passages is much closer than in many other quotations of like amount; not only is there a considerable amount quoted which does not appear in the Ethiopic, but the omissions from the Greek are confined to doublets, one of which Dr. Charles expressly marks as a dittography. These points will be more clear by setting out the two forms side by side.

Enoch 1. 9	Jude 14, 15
ὅτι ἔρχεται σὺν τοῖς μυριάσιν	ἰδού, ἦλθε Κύριος ἐν ἁγίαις
αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς ἁγίοις αὐτοῦ,	μυριάσιν αὐτοῦ,
ποιῆσαι κρίσιν κατὰ πάντων,	ποιῆσαι κρίσιν κατὰ πάντων,
καὶ ἀπολέσει πάντας τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς	καὶ ἐλέγξαι πάντας τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς
καὶ ἐλέγξει πᾶσαν σάρκα	
περὶ πάντων ἔργων τῆς ἀσεβείας	περὶ πάντων τῶν ἔργων ἀσεβείας
αὐτῶν ὧν ἠσέβησαν, καὶ	αὐτῶν ὧν ἠσέβησαν, καὶ περὶ
σκληρῶν ὧν ἐλάλησαν λόγων,	πάντων τῶν σκληρῶν ὧν ἐλάλησαν
καὶ περὶ πάντων ὧν κατελάλησαν	
κατ' αὐτοῦ ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἀσεβεῖς.	κατ' αὐτοῦ ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἀσεβεῖς.

Dr. Swete's text has been followed for Enoch and the R.V. Greek text of Jude, but the margin has *μυριάσιν ἁγίαις*, which is even closer to the Enoch reading.

The Ethiopic (following Dr. Burkitt's rendering) is much less similar, and tends strongly to confirm his warm support of the Gizeh text as against the Ethiopic.

ENOCH	JUDE
And lo ! He came with ten thousands of holy ones to do judgement on them and to destroy the ungodly and to convict all flesh about all that they have done and prepared	Behold, the Lord came with ten thousands of His holy ones, to execute judgement upon all, and to convict all the ungodly of all their works of ungodliness which they have ungodly wrought, and of all the hard things which
the ungodly and sinners against Him.	ungodly sinners have spoken against Him.

The omissions are just what might be expected, and give a stronger sense of authenticity than an absolutely verbatim copy, but we cannot account for the additions to the Ethiopic version except by the use of a different version by the quoter, and this we have without doubt in the Greek MS. of Gizeh.

2. There are two of St. Paul's acknowledged quotations (1 Co. 2. 9 *καθὼς γέγραπται*, and Eph. 5. 14 *διὸ λέγει*[1]) which cannot be traced to any Hebrew original. Origen expressly says that the former of these was taken from a book not now extant entitled *The Revelation of Elias*. Epiphanius makes an exactly similar statement about the latter case, and attributes it to the same lost book. There is no reason to doubt the accuracy of their statements, and the conclusion seems inevit-

[1] For a full discussion of these two texts see p. 240 of *St. Paul and Contemporary Jewish Thought*, Thackeray. It must be admitted that the evidence of Epiphanius is of very much lower value than that of Origen.

able that St. Paul, as well as St. Jude, has made quotations from Apocryphal books in exactly the same manner as from admittedly canonical sources. Also in 2 Co. 6. 18, St. Paul, in quoting from Isaiah, adds words which are not found in that prophet, but which come from Jubilees 1. 24; this conflation would tend to a similar conclusion, that he regarded both Isaiah and Jubilees with the same value in authority (though the contents may not be of equal service to him), and when he so desires conflates a passage from each, as he often does in his other citations.[1]

3. But there are also a number of passages which, though not marked as quotations, seem undoubtedly taken from Apocryphal sources, passages of sufficient length to give the impression that there is an intentional quotation, or that well-known phrases are naturally chosen to convey the desired meaning. There is no need to exclude these passages for want of any acknowledgement that they are cited; such unmarked quotations abound in the New Testament; modern usage would place them between inverted commas, but the device was not then known. There is an example of this in our Lord's own words in Mk. 9. 48, *ὅπου ὁ σκώληξ αὐτῶν οὐ τελευτᾷ καὶ τὸ πῦρ οὐ σβέννυται*, from Is. 66. 24, and when He is on the

[1] It has been suggested that many of the conflate citations are taken, not at first hand from the originals, but from an anthology of favourite texts. Hatch, *Studies in Biblical Greek*, p. 203.

Cross the Jews rail at Him in the words of Ps. 22. 8, *πέποιθεν ἐπὶ τὸν Θεόν· ῥυσάσθω νῦν αὐτόν, εἰ θέλει αὐτόν.* In like manner St. Paul (1 Co. 15. 32, 33) in two successive verses, without any sign that they are not his own words, quotes *φάγωμεν καὶ πίωμεν, αὔριον γὰρ ἀποθνήσκομεν* from Is. 22. 13, and *φθείρουσιν ἤθη χρήσθ' ὁμιλίαι κακαί* from Menander. And again Ro. 10. 13 from Joel 2. 32, and Ro. 11. 34 = 1 Co. 2. 16 from Is. 40. 13.

4. Not only are there unacknowledged quotations, but many, whether acknowledged or not, are very far from close verbal agreement with the original (this can be abundantly demonstrated from St. Paul's quotations from the Canonical books, where the citation has never been disputed). Nor ought we to expect such agreement, for the majority of the quoting was perforce from memory—concordances were unknown; it was difficult to find a particular text in a roll which was voluminous in more senses than one, even if the required roll were to hand (and it often was not); this was well understood by the men of those days, exactness of word was no matter if the general sense were given.[1]

[1] This explanation however, commonly accepted as it is, is strongly challenged by Dr. Hatch, *Studies in Biblical Greek*, p. 204, ". . . such quotations were ordinarily made with great accuracy, and that the existence of a discrepancy between them and the existing MSS. points not to an inaccuracy on the part of the writer, but to a variation in the current text . . . the same or nearly the same combinations occur in different writers." The view taken in the text is based on Johnson's *Quotations of the New Testament*, where abundant evidence is given from literature of all ages. Dr. Hatch's suggestion that composite quotations

The following list of passages which may be claimed as citations from Apocryphal and Pseud-epigraphical books is given for the reader to judge for himself:

WISDOM	
2. 24	
θάνατος εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον	Ro. 5. 12 *εἰς τὸν κόσμον εἰσῆλθε . . . ὁ θάνατος*
4. 11	
ἁπατήσῃ ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ	Jas. 1. 26 *ἀπατῶν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ*
12. 12	
τίς γὰρ ἐρεῖ τί ἐποίησας;	Ro. 9. 20 *μὴ ἐρεῖ . . . τί με ἐποίησας οὕτως;*
ἢ τίς ἀντιστήσεται τῷ κρίματί σου	19 *τῷ γὰρ βουλήματι αὐτοῦ τίς ἀνθέστηκεν;*
18. 7	
σωτηρία μὲν δικαίων ἐχθρῶν δὲ ἀπωλία	Ph. 1. 28 *αὐτοῖς ἔνδειξις ἀπωλείας ὑμῶν δὲ σωτηρίας*
SIRACH	
32. 24	Mt. 16. 27
ἕως ἀνταποδῷ ἀνθρώπῳ κατὰ τὰς πράξεις αὐτοῦ	*καὶ τότε ἀποδώσει ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τὴν πρᾶξιν αὐτοῦ*
32. 22	
καὶ ὁ Κύριος οὐ μὴ βραδύνῃ	2 Pe. 3. 9 *οὐ βραδύνει ὁ Κύριος*
39. 6	
ἐὰν Κύριος . . . θελήσῃ	Jas. 4. 15 *ἐὰν ὁ Κύριος θελήσῃ*
1 MACCABEES	
6. 22	Rev. 6. 9
ἕως πότε οὐ ποιήσεις κρίσιν καὶ ἐκδικήσεις τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἡμῶν;	*ἕως πότε . . . οὐ κρίνεις καὶ ἐκδικεῖς τὸ αἷμα ἡμῶν;*
10. 8	
καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν φόβον μέγαν	Mk. 4. 41; Lk. 2. 9

may come from anthologies of favourite texts is a valuable one, but hardly meets the case of a scholar like St. Paul. The idea is dealt with at more length in Moffat, *Introd. to N. T.* p. 23 (ii.).

1 Esdras	
4. 39	
καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν παρ᾽ αὐτὴν λαμβάνειν πρόσωπα	Ro. 2. 11 οὐ γάρ ἐστι προσωποληψία παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ Eph. 6. 9 καὶ προσωποληψία οὐκ ἔστι παρ᾽ αὐτῷ
Tobit	
8. 16	
κατὰ τὸ πολὺ ἔλεός σου	1 Pe. 1. 3 κατὰ τὸ πολὺ αὐτοῦ ἔλεος
T. Reuben	
5. 5	
φεύγετε . . . τὴν πορνείαν	1 Co. 6. 18 φεύγετε τὴν πορνείαν
T. Levi.	
2. 6	
καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀνεῴχθησαν οἱ οὐρανοί	Mt. 3. 16 ἰδού, ἀνεῴχθησαν οἱ οὐρανοί
6. 11	
ἔφθασε δὲ αὐτοὺς ἡ ὀργὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ εἰς τέλος	1 Th. 2. 16 ἔφθασε δὲ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἡ ὀργὴ εἰς τέλος
9. 14	
καὶ πᾶσαν θυσίαν ἅλατι ἁλιεῖς	Mk. 9. 49 (A.S.M.) καὶ πᾶσα θυσία ἁλὶ ἁλισθήσεται[1]
T. Judah	
14. 1	
μὴ μεθύσκεσθε οἴνῳ	Eph. 5. 18 μὴ μεθύσκεσθε οἴνῳ ἐν ᾧ ἐστιν ἀσωτία
16. 1 . . . ἀσωτίας	
19. 3	
ἀλλ᾽ . . . ἠλέησέ με ὅτι ἐν ἀγνωσίᾳ τοῦτο ἐποίησα	1 Ti. 1. 13 ἀλλ᾽ ἠλεήθην ὅτι ἀγνοῶν ἐποίησα
23. 5	
πορευομένους ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐντολαῖς αὐτοῦ	Lk. 1. 6 πορευόμενοι ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐντολαῖς . . . τοῦ Κυρίου

[1] This is interesting as apparently an example of a citation inserted as a gloss by a later hand.

T. Issachar	
7. 1α	
καὶ οὐκ ἔγνων ἐν ἐμοὶ ἁμαρτίαν	Ro. 7. 7 ἀλλὰ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν οὐκ ἔγνων
T. Dan.	
6. 2	
ἐγγίσατε τῷ Θεῷ	Jas. 4. 8 ἐγγίσατε τῷ Θεῷ
6. 10	
ἀπόστητε οὖν ἀπὸ πάσης ἀδικίας	2 Ti. 2. 19 ἀποστήτω ἀπὸ ἀδικίας[1]
T. Naphtali	
3. 4	Lk. 22. 26 ; Eph. 4. 20
ὑμεῖς δὲ μὴ οὕτως	ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐχ οὕτως
8. 4	
καὶ ὁ διάβολος φεύξεται ἀφ' ὑμῶν	Jas. 4. 7 τῷ διαβόλῳ, καὶ φ. ἀφ' ὑμῶν
T. Gad	
6. 3	
ἀγαπήσατε ἀλλήλους ἀπὸ καρδίας	1 Pe. 1. 22 ἐκ καθαρᾶς καρδίας ἀλλήλους ἀγαπήσατε (A.S.M.)
καὶ ἐάν τις ἁμαρτήσει εἰς σέ, εἰπὲ αὐτῷ εἰρήνην . . . καὶ ἐὰν μετανοήσας ὁμολογήσῃ ἄφες αὐτῷ	Lk. 17. 3 ἐὰν ἁμάρτῃ [εἰς σὲ] ὁ ἀδελφός σου ἐπιτίμησον αὐτῷ· καὶ ἐὰν μετανοήσῃ, ἄφες αὐτῷ
T. Asher	
6. 2	
ὅτι καὶ πράσσουσι τὸ κακόν, καὶ συνευδοκοῦσι τοῖς πράσσουσιν	Ro. 1. 32 οὐ μόνον αὐτὰ ποιοῦσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ συνευδοκοῦσι τοῖς πράσσουσι
T. Joseph	
1. 6, 7	Mt. 25. 35
ἐν λιμῷ συνεσχέθην καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Κύριος διέθρεψέ με·	ἐπείνασα γὰρ καὶ ἐδώκατέ μοι φαγεῖν

[1] This is marked by a capital in R.V. as the second of two short citations, but no reference is given for either.

T. Joseph	
1. 6, 7	Mt. 25. 35
μόνος ἤμην καὶ ὁ Θεὸς παρεκάλεσέ με·	ξένος ἤμην καὶ συναγάγετέ με·
ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ ἤμην καὶ ὁ Κ. ἐπεσκέψατό με·	ἠσθένησα καὶ ἐπεσκέψασθέ με·
ἐν φυλακῇ ἤμην καὶ ὁ σωτὴρ ἐχαρίτωσέ με.	ἐν φυλακῇ ἤμην καὶ ἤλθετε πρός με.
13. 1	
τί τοῦτο ὃ ἀκούω περί σου;	Lk. 16. 2 τί τοῦτο ἀκούω περὶ σοῦ;
13. 2	
οὐκ οἶδα ὃ λέγεις	Mt. 26. 70 οὐκ οἶδα τί λέγεις
T. Benjamin	
4. 3	
οὗτος τὸ ἀγαθὸν ποιῶν νικᾷ τὸ κακόν	Ro. 12. 21 νίκα ἐν τῷ ἀγαθῷ τὸ κ.
8. 1	
ἀπόδρατε τὴν κακίαν καὶ προσκολλᾶσθε τῇ ἀγαθότητι	Ro. 12. 9 ἀποστυγοῦντες τὸ πονηρόν, κολλώμενοι τῷ ἀγαθῷ
8. 2	
οὐχ ὁρᾷ γυναῖκα εἰς πορνείαν	Mt. 5. 28 ὁ βλέπων γυναῖκα πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι αὐτῆς
10. 8 (A)	
τότε πάντες ἀλλαγησόμεθα	1 Co. 15. 51 πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγησόμεθα
11. 2 (β, S^1)	
εὐδοκίαν θελήματος αὐτοῦ	Eph. 1. 5 τὴν εὐδοκίαν τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ
11. 3	
ἕως συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος	Mt. 28. 20 ἕως τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος
Enoch	
38. 2	Mt. 26. 24
It had been good for them if they had not been born	Good were it for that man if he had not been born
48. 4	
He shall be the light of the Gentiles	Lk. 2. 32a, to be a light to lighten the Gentiles (P.B.V.)

ENOCH	
62. 5 (45. 3 ; 55. 4, etc.) when they see that Son of Man sitting on the throne of His glory	Mt. 19. 28 When the Son of Man shall sit on the throne of His glory. Cf. Mk. 14. 62 ; Mt. 25. 31
86. 1 (88. 1) I saw . . . a star fell from heaven	Rev. 9. 1 I saw a star from heaven fallen unto the earth
99. 7 they who worship stones and grave images of gold and silver and wood and clay, and those who worship impure spirits and demons	Rev. 9. 20 that they should not worship demons and the idols of gold and of silver and of brass and of stone and of wood
JUBILEES	
1. 24 I shall be their Father and they shall be My children	2 Co. 6. 18 I will be to you a Father and ye shall be to Me sons and daughters

This is connected by St. Paul with a quotation from Isaiah, but does not form part of it.

4. 30 For one thousand years are as one day in the testimony of the heavens	2 Pe. 3. 8 One day is with the Lord as a thousand years and a thousand years as one day
ASSUMPTION OF MOSES	Ju. 16
7. 4 dolosi	*γογγυσταί*
7. 7 quaerulosi	*μεμψίμοιροι*
7. 9 immunda tractantes et os eorum loquitur ingentia	*κατὰ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας αὐτῶν πορευόμενοι καὶ τὸ στόμα αὐτῶν λαλεῖ ὑπέρογκα.* Cf. Dan. 7. 8
5. 5 mirantes personas locupletum et accipientes munera	*θαυμάζοντες πρόσωπα ὠφελείας χάριν*

We now come to a different class of passage, where the quotation is made conjointly from a text in the Old Testament and from a version of the same in an Apocryphal book. It will be noted that where the latter amplifies the former, the New Testament writer in quoting makes use of this amplification.

Is. 35. 3	Sir. 25. 23	He. 12. 12
χεῖρες ἀνειμέναι καὶ γόνατα παραλελυμένα	χεῖρες παρειμέναι καὶ γόνατα παραλελυμένα	τὰς παρειμένας χεῖρας καὶ τὰ παραλελυμένα γόνατα

Here the New Testament agrees with the Apocrypha where it differs from the LXX.; it thus appears to quote from Sirach rather than Isaiah, and in any case shows familiarity with the former.

Gen. 22. 18; 12. 3	Sir. 44. 21	Ga. 3. 8
καὶ ἐνευλογηθήσονται ἐν τῷ σπέρματι σου πάντα τὰ ἔθνη 12. 3 καὶ ἐ. ἐν σοὶ πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς	ἐνευλογηθῆναι ἔθνη ἐν τῷ σπέρματι αὐτοῦ	ἐνευλογηθήσονται ἐν σοὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη

St. Paul here apparently quotes the second of the two texts in Genesis rather carelessly, although the one used by Sirach seems slightly more appropriate to his context.

Mal. 4. 5	Sir. 48. 10	Lk. 1. 17
ὃς ἀποκαταστήσει καρδίαν πατρὸς πρὸς υἱὸν	ἐπιστρέψαι καρδίαν πατρὸς πρὸς υἱὸν	ἐπιστρέψαι καρδίας πατέρων ἐπὶ τέκνα

All three refer to Elijah. St. Luke departs further from the Old Testament than Sirach, but follows him in changing the most important word in the sentence.

Ex. 20. 17; Deut. 5. 21	Sir. 4. 1	Mk. 10. 19
οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις	μὴ ἀποστερήσῃς	μὴ ἀπ.
		Ro. 7. 8
		οὐκ ἐπιθ.

Here St. Paul gives the correct LXX. text, while St. Mark, in recording our Lord, follows the Apocrypha, using quite a different word for "covet," as well as preferring with Sirach to put the verb in the subjunctive mood. Had both done so we might have conjectured a vernacular edition of the Commandments.

1 Sam. 2. 8, 10	Sir. 10. 14	Lk. 1. 52
ἀνιστᾷ ἀπὸ γῆς πένητα . . . ἀσθενῆ ποιήσει ἀντίδικον αὐτοῦ	θρόνους ἀρχόντων καθεῖλεν ὁ Κύριος καὶ ἐκάθισεν πραεῖς ἀντ' αὐτῶν	καθεῖλε δυνάστας ἀπὸ θρόνων, καὶ ὕψωσε ταπεινούς

This is rather a matter of similarity of thought than of word, but there is the use of a royal metaphor common to the latter two which is not so prominent in Samuel, and there is the agreement in using *θρόνος* and *καθεῖλε*. But the similarity with Samuel is not confined to this one verse.

Is. 59. 17	Wis. 5. 17	Eph. 6. 11
καὶ ἐνεδύσατο δικαιοσύνην ὡς θώρακα καὶ περιέθετο περικεφαλαίαν σωτηρίου ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς	λήμψεται πανοπλίαν τὸν ζῆλον αὐτοῦ. ἐνδύσεται θώρακα δικαιοσύνην καὶ περιθήσεται κόρυθα κρίσιν ἀνυπόκριτον. λήμψεται ἀσπίδα . . . ὀξυνεῖ δὲ ἀπότομον ὀργὴν εἰς ῥομφαίαν	ἐνδύσασθε τὴν πανοπλίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ . . . ἐνδυσάμενοι τὸν θώρακα τῆς δικαιοσύνης . . . τὸν θυρεὸν τῆς πίστεως . . . τὴν περικεφαλαίαν τοῦ σωτηρίου . . . τὴν μάχαιραν
		1 Th. 5. 8
		ἐνδυσάμενοι θώρακα πίστεως καὶ ἀγάπης καὶ περικεφαλαίαν ἐλπίδα σωτηρίας

This is well-trodden ground. The word panoply, and the additional use of sword and shield in company with Wisdom can hardly be an accident, even though the words are different. The passage from Thessalonians warns us, too, that St. Paul is quite ready slightly to change his metaphor when desired.

Jer. 18. 3	Wis. 15. 7	Ro. 9. 21
τοῦ κεραμέως . . . ἐποίησεν . . . καθὼς ἤρεσεν . . . καθὼς ὁ κεραμεὺς οὗτος οὐ δυνήσομαι . . . ὡς ὁ πηλὸς . . . ὑμεῖς ἐστὲ . . .	κεραμεὺς . . . ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πηλοῦ ἀνεπλάσατο τά τε τῶν καθαρῶν ἔργων δοῦλα σκεύη τά τε ἐναντία	ἢ οὐκ ἔχει ἐξουσίαν ὁ κεραμεὺς τοῦ πηλοῦ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ φυράματος ποιῆσαι ὃ μὲν εἰς τιμὴν σκεῦος ὃ δὲ εἰς ἀτιμίαν

This is a good example, showing how an illustration which had served several generations of Prophets received a fresh use from St. Paul; he welds together one whole out of the two older passages, using the salient points of each without seeming to be borrowing, and yet his words clearly show his indebtedness to Wisdom.

Gen. 15. 6	1 Macc. 2. 52	Ro. 4. 3; Ga. 3. 6; Jas. 2. 23
καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην	καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ δικαιοσύνη	καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην

Here the New Testament either does not know the alteration in the Apocrypha or disregards it; but the change is so minute that it can hardly have any value either way.

Is. 56. 7	1 Macc. 7. 37	Mk. 11. 17
ὁ γὰρ οἶκός μου οἶκος προσευχῆς κληθήσεται πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν	εἶναι οἶκον προσευχῆς . . . τῷ λαῷ σου	ὁ οἶκός μου οἶκος προσευχῆς κληθήσεται πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν

In this case St. Mark quotes from Isaiah with almost literal exactness, while Maccabees takes liberties with the text to suit his need. But it is noticeable that both the other Synoptists omit the mention of the Gentiles; they presumably had both St. Mark and Isaiah before them, and they may be showing the same national prejudice as Maccabees, though we should scarcely expect to find anything of the kind in a Gentile writer like St. Luke.

Lam. 4. 19	1 Macc. 9. 10	Mt. 26. 18
ἤγγικεν . . . πάρεστιν ὁ καιρὸς ἡμῶν	καὶ ἤγγικεν ὁ καιρὸς ἡμῶν	ὁ καιρός μου ἐγγύς ἐστι

Here the common use of the word for "near" suggests that the Maccabean phrase was in the Evangelist's mind, to aid his choice between the two words available in Lamentations.

LEV. 26. 12 *καὶ ἔσομαι ὑμῖν Θεός, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἔσεσθέ μοι λαός* JER. 31. 33 *καὶ ἔσομαι αὐτοῖς εἰς Θεὸν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔσονταί μοι εἰς λαὸν*	T. JUDAH 25. 3 *καὶ ἔσεσθε εἰς λαὸν Κυρίου*	2 CO. 6. 16 *καὶ ἔσομαι αὐτῶν Θεός, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔσονταί μου λαός* HE. 8. 10. *καὶ ἔσομαι αὐτοῖς εἰς Θεόν, αὐτοὶ ἔσονταί μοι εἰς λαόν*

Hebrews clearly follows Jeremiah; St. Paul's use of the genitive may point to a use of the Testaments (for which there is other evidence), but seems more to point to his usual want of literal exactness in making quotations.

ECCLES. 3. 5 *καιρὸς τοῦ περιλαβεῖν καὶ καιρὸς τοῦ μακρυνθῆναι ἀπὸ περιλήμψεως*	T. NAPH. 8. 8 *καιρὸς γὰρ συνουσίας γυναικός καὶ καιρὸς ἐγκρατείας εἰς προσευχήν*	1 CO. 7. 5 *μὴ ἀποστερεῖτε ἀλλήλους, εἰ μή τι ἂν ἐκ συμφώνου πρὸς καιρόν, ἵνα σχολάσητε τῇ προσευχῇ*

A curious parallel but useful, in that the Testaments give leisure for prayer as the reason for such restraint, and St. Paul follows this thought for his exhortation on the subject.

ZECH. 8. 16 *λαλεῖτε ἀλήθειαν ἕκαστος πρὸς τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ*	T. DAN. 5. 2 *ἀλήθειαν φθέγγεσθε ἕκαστος πρὸς τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ* T. REUB. 6. 9 *ποιεῖν ἀλήθειαν ἕκαστος πρὸς τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ*	EPH. 4. 25 *λαλεῖτε ἀλήθειαν ἕκαστος μετὰ τοῦ πλησίον αὐτοῦ*

This is a clear case of adherence to the Old Testament text, but St. Paul must needs change the preposition and the case following.

Ex. 19. 5, 6	Jub. 16. 18	1 Pe. 2. 9
Ye shall be a peculiar treasure unto Me from among all peoples . . . a kingdom of priests and an holy nation	. . . that it should be unto the Lord a people for possession above all nations . . . a kingdom and priests and a holy nation	. . . a kingly priesthood, a holy nation, a people for possession. Rev. 1. 6 ; 5. 10 kingdom and priests

This is a less certain case as we cannot compare the very words (there being no Greek version of Jubilees), but it appears very similar to the rest, a turn of phrase being added in the Apocryphal book and reappearing in the New Testament passage.

5. There are many passages, too, in the New Testament which remind us of parts of Apocryphal books so strongly that the resemblance can hardly be accidental. Thus the great 44th Chapter of Sirach seems to be recalled in Ac. 7 and He. 11, while the latter chapter further reminds us of the dying speech of Mattathias and the account of the tortures which the faithful suffered at that time—some of the words used in the Maccabean account appear in this chapter of Hebrews. Many of St. James' maxims can be found foreshadowed in Wisdom or Sirach.

In 1 Co. 15. 29 St. Paul instances the practice of Baptism for the dead as an evidence for the Resurrection, just as the writer of 2 Macc. 12. 44 claims that the sacrifice for the dead could have no other justification.

The return of Tobit to his home has some phrases in common with the return of the Prodigal

Son, and probably suggested them, as his story was very popular and thoroughly well known.

The parts of Wisdom about the types of Idolatry, the influence of idol worship on morality (especially as leading to unnatural wickedness), and the similarity of the punishment meted out to the crime committed are all reflected in the Epistle to the Romans.[1]

The description of the personal appearance of the Messiah in Rev. 1. 14 is remarkably like that in Enoch (71. 10; 14. 20, 24). To these might be added a very large number of cases where the idea or metaphor used by the Apocrypha and the New Testament is identical.[2]

6. There are a number of stories quoted in the New Testament as matters of common knowledge, which have no place in the Hebrew Canon. Many of them, however, have been found in various Apocryphal books, and it seems impossible to resist the inference that these books were the source from which the New Testament writers took them, and that they were able to assume that their readers would readily recognize and accept them. This forms a double influence upon the New Testament language, both in the quoting of the stories themselves and also in the allusive style in which the quotation is made.

Such, for instance, is the story of the burial of the twelve Patriarchs in Ac. 7. 16 (T. Reuben

[1] See Sanday and Headlam, *Romans*, pp. 51, 52, and 267-9. [2] Appendix II.

and Jubilees), the contention of Michael with the Devil in Ju. *v.* 9 (Assumption of Moses); the sawing asunder in He. 11. 37 seems to be a reference to the Martyrdom of Isaiah; the delivery of the Torah by the Angels in Ac. 7. 53 and Ga. 3. 19, and the preaching of Noah referred to in 2 Pe. 2. 5 are both found in the Book of Jubilees. The reference to Jannes and Jambres in 2 Ti. 3. 8 is almost certainly from the "Poenitentia Jambre et Mambre" of the Gelesian *notitia*.[1]

7. There are many cases where the use of particular words is common to the Apocrypha and the New Testament, but which is not found before that time. Thus we have the conjunction of *σὰρξ καὶ αἷμα* as in Mt. 16. 17; 1 Co. 15. 50; Ga. 1. 16; this is a common phrase in Rabbinic literature, but makes its first appearance in the Apocrypha.[2] Again in Wisdom 7. 14 and 1 Macc. 12. 43 *συνίστημι* is made to mean "commend" as in Ro. 16. 1; 2 Co. 10. 18; in Wis. 13. 7 *τὰ βλεπόμενα* means Nature as in He. 11. 3; *αἰών* in Tob. 14. 5 has the same meaning of "this world" as so often in the New Testament; *δίκη* is personified in Wis. 14. 31 and again in Ac. 28. 4; Lk. 3. 13 follows 1 Macc. 10. 35 in using *πράσσειν* for "exact"; in 2 Macc. 7. 19 we have the word *θεομαχεῖν* and in Ac. 5. 39 the cognate *θεομάχοι* (in the mouth of a Sanhedrist be it noted), words nowhere else

[1] See Swete, *Introduction to Old Testament in Greek*, p. 282.
[2] Sir. 14. 18; 17. 31.

to be found either in the LXX. or the Classics; in T. Levi 15. 2 is another rare word δικαιοκρισία which occurs in Ro. 2. 5, but also is to be sought in vain in either LXX. or Classics.

8. The use of various titles of God shows much common ground between the Apocrypha and the New Testament. The ornamenting of the Divine Style proceeded apace in the post-Exilic period,[1] partly from motives of reverence, and partly from a desire for mellifluous periphrasis as an adornment of liturgical language. In the Hexateuch with very few exceptions It is Κύριος or Θεός or Κύριος ὁ Θεός, and most of the exceptions only add some obvious and plain addition such as God of Israel, or, of our fathers. But with the books in the third part of the Jewish Canon the titles of God are many, and when the Apocryphal books are reached there are some few added which re-appear in the New Testament, and it seems that they have been adopted from the Apocryphal books. Thus there is Θεὸς τῆς εἰρήνης in T. Dan 5. 2 which is used six times by St. Paul (1 Th. 5. 23; Ro. 15. 33; 16. 20; 1 Co. 14. 33; 2 Co. 13. 11; Ph. 4. 9), and it again appears in He. 13. 20. Then there is the beautiful Βασιλεὺς τῶν αἰώνων of To. 13. 6 and En. 12. 3 which is employed by St. Paul in 1 Ti. 1. 17. The description of God as τεχνίτης in Wis. 13. 1 is again made use of in He. 11. 10. None of these are to be found in the Hebrew Canon.

[1] Jackson, *op. cit.* p. 173; and Dalman, *Words of Jesus*, pp. 198 ff.

Also in Lk. 15. 18 the Evangelist follows the common Apocryphal use of *οὐρανός* for God,[1] but this is found once in the Old Testament at Job 22. 26.[2]

9. There are also a number of words for places and things which appear for the first time in the Apocrypha and become familiar in the pages of the New Testament. Thus in Sir. 1. 3 ; 42. 18, is *ἄβυσσος* so frequent in Revelation. Wis. 13. 9 ; 14. 6 (and Tob. 14. 5) is the prototype of the common New Testament usage of *αἰών* meaning the world in a rather evil sense. Sir. 24. 11 "the beloved city" again appears in Rev. 20. 9. 2 Macc. frequently uses *ὁ τόπος* for the Temple, a use which is followed by Ac. 6. 13 ; 21. 28 ; Jo. 11. 48. In the same book and in Judith we find *γερουσία* for the Sanhedrim as in Ac. 5. 21. The "Tartarus" of 2 Pe. 2. 4 may come from En. 20. 2 rather than from classical sources direct. A particularly instructive instance is that of *πύλαι ᾅδου* (Wis. 16. 13 ; 3 Macc. 5. 51) as used in Mt. 16. 18. The corresponding phrase in the Old Testament is *πύλαι θανάτου*[3] (as the equivalent of מָוֶת and not שְׁאוֹל), thus the later books have deliberately chosen a new phrase from Hellenic sources, which is adopted by the New Testament writer.

[1] "Ημαρτον *εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν*. Cf. *ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἢ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων* (Mt. 21. 25 ; Mk. 11. 30 ; Lk. 20. 4) ; *σημεῖον ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ* (Mk. 8. 11 ; Jn. 3. 27 ; Lk. 11. 16).

[2] Cf. Dalman, *Words of Jesus*, p. 217. Similarly *ἄνωθεν* means from God in Wis. 19. 6, as in Jo. 3. 3, 7, 31 ; 19. 11 ; Jas. 1. 17 ; 3. 15, 17.

[3] Except in Is. 38. 10, but this passage appears to be very late in date ; cf. Skinner, *Camb. Bib.*, *Isaiah*, vol. 1, p. 278.

10. A minute examination of texts has produced an imposing list[1] of over 700 parallels or resemblances. There are, too, 555 words which are common to the Apocrypha and the New Testament which are not found at all in the older books.[2] But it must be confessed that these long lists are more imposing to the eye than to the intellect; some of them are slight or merely fancied; some, too, perhaps of the examples in the preceding paragraphs seem almost to fall under the same charge. It is mostly a question of the use in common of a word or group of words, at most three in number. So that very little can be argued from them, or indeed from any of the evidence outside of the very scanty list of quotations direct or indirect, except that there is much in common between the Apocrypha and the New Testament in thought and language—they are both treating of the same great topic of the Revelation of God to man, they are both written by men of the same race, religion, training, and environment—small wonder, then, that they speak in many common words—yet this is a very real influence of the Apocrypha upon the language of the New Testament, that the nidus of the Apocrypha, feathered and pressed and shaped anew by its writers, should equally be the nidus of the New Testament. For the Apocrypha, as we have seen in earlier chapters, covers a period of great change and marvellous progress in religious

[1] Given in Appendix III. [2] Appendix VII.

evolution.[1] There is a vast gulf between the last books of the Jewish Canon and the writing of the New Testament. The religious principles marked out by the Prophets on the one side and by the Lawyers on the other — the Ezekiel-Ezra combination of the days immediately following the return from Captivity — had been developed in a marvellous manner in the meanwhile. Precept, too, had gradually become practice; though the Lawyers of our Lord's day from their pedestal of self-satisfaction might call the common herd "cursed" because they were not all experts in jurisprudence ("this people which knoweth not the Torah"),[2] it is undoubted that the main principles of their religion were known and observed by almost all, with a fidelity which has never been achieved by the Christian Church, and which still marks the Jewish race all over the world. The Sabbath was scrupulously observed, and there is not a trace of the old besetting sin of idolatry, while a vast number of rules of conduct, even if they did not always extend to the tithing of "mint, anise, and cummin"[3] so persistently demanded by the Scribes, had become the traditions of life for the great majority. Perhaps the strongest evidence of the moral and spiritual progress during this period is

[1] Charles, *Eschatology*, p. 193, "The ethical teaching on these subjects in Apocalyptic is a vast advance on that of the Old Testament, and forms the indispensable link which in this respect connects the Old Testament with the New."

[2] Jo. 7. 49.

[3] Mt. 23. 23.

the difference in the reception of our Lord and His disciples to that accorded the prophets of former days—then the people scoffed or persecuted —now they gladly listened, they desired to hear how they might live nearer to God, and to serve Him better. Even if some of our Lord's sayings were too hard for them, even if some came out of the merest curiosity, yet the crowds that poured out into the wilderness to hear Him, or thronged Him upon the lake side, do tell of a real spiritual life in the nation. Now such a change as this in the religious life of a people, bringing with it new conceptions of God, new stories of His dealings with His people, inevitably changed and augmented the religious vocabulary; and it is this same vocabulary, used in common by the Apocrypha and the New Testament, that underlies and explains the majority of the phrases in our long lists of parallels, and forms the greatest and most real influence of the Apocrypha upon the language of the New Testament—that it provided a very large stock of religious formulae by which the new teaching might be expressed or illustrated.

11. An examination of these same parallels from the New Testament side[1] leads to much the same result. They are scattered fairly evenly over all the books, and no one author as a rule shows any marked preponderance beyond that involved in the length of his writings. St. Mark is rather below

[1] Appendix IV.

the average. St. Matthew slightly above it. There is, however, a clearly marked difference as to the books from which these parallels come. As the writers differ in thought and word, so our parallels come from different parts of the Apocryphal literature; the didactic and almost epistolary books like the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, and Apocalyptic like Enoch, have much in common with the New Testament, while stories like Bel and the Dragon have nothing to contribute to the Gospel (this is equally true of citations from the canonical books, there are far more drawn from the later prophets—the didactic books—than from the former prophets—the books of history[1]). Again like will use like; Revelation and St. Jude draw from Enoch, Acts from Maccabees, St. Paul from Wisdom, the Gospels from the Testaments, while the moralizing St. James finds much to his purpose in Ben-Sira. A difference may be noted, too, in the amount to which the New Testament writers rely on material from other hands. St. Jude, for instance, is scarcely more than a patchwork of quotations, a mosaic of marbles from many quarries[2] (and consequently his use of matter from the Apocrypha is large in proportion — the number of parallels is few, but

[1] Moulton (*Camb. Bib., Essays*, p. 475), "The Pentateuch accounts for a quarter of the New Testament quotations, the Prophets (and Daniel) for nearly a half, and the Psalms for a fifth, while all the rest only amount to 6 per cent . . . the historical books and the rest of the Hagiographa fall very much into the background."

[2] For other examples of "patchwork" see Ac. 7; Ro. 9. 19–11. 12; He. 1. 5-14.

there are two direct quotations, each of two whole verses out of a total of five and twenty forming the Epistle), while St. Paul with his tremendous originality, and in spite of his Rabbinic training, is much less indebted to the work of others, and even when he quotes them or brings in an idea from them, mainly does so by way of illustrating a theme which stands perfectly well without them.

All this brings the feeling that, in one way or another, there is a marked influence of the Apocrypha on the New Testament text;[1] the express citations, the common thought and phraseology, are undeniable. While admitting to the full that many of the parallels are mere coincidences or due solely to the common nationality and environment of the writers, there is still a considerable residue left. And this residue would be far greater had we the whole of the Jewish literature available in the first century A.D. now in our hands for purposes of comparison. As it is, we have many of the books only in fragments, with highly uncertain texts. Of these, too, a number no longer exist in Greek for an accurate comparison with the New Testament text, and are only available for the average student after passing through a terrible sieve of translation—Hebrew—Greek—Ethiopic—English.

[1] Jackson, *Esch. of Jesus*, p. 240, "It (*i.e.* an Apocalyptic book) contains such striking parallels to New Testament passages as to suggest a very close connexion, if not actual literary dependence, on the part of the later writers."

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS

When all the foregoing influences upon the beginnings of Christianity, as seen either in the very words in the Books of the New Testament, or in the circumstances, environment, beliefs, presuppositions, which surrounded and moulded the Infant Church, are taken into account, the conclusion cannot be avoided that as the people of Israel were chosen of God to receive training as the nation from which Christianity should grow, so in this training and preparation not the least part is that included in the years which may roughly be called the Greek Period of History. Our debt to these later and often despised days of Jewish history is almost certainly greater than to those before the Exile. Nor can we underestimate the value of the new knowledge about those days and their literature for the right understanding of the New Testament. Much has been done and much more will be done to clear away old misunderstandings or to throw light on passages hitherto hopelessly

obscure, by the accumulation of evidence as to the exact meaning of a word or phrase from the contemporary writings. And this help will come not only from the various fragments of the common speech preserved in stray documents, but particularly from the books written by Jews in the same vernacular and embodying many of the thoughts and expressions which are found as "common form" in the first Christian literature.[1]

It is, however, quite possible to expect too much from these books.[2] The first wonder at finding prototypes of what had long been considered exclusively Christian raises hope of a very rich harvest of material for comparison and illustration; but further search proves disappointing, and some reasons must be attempted to account for this paucity.

It certainly does not arise from any question of canonicity—this has been clearly shown above. Yet it is doubtless true that books which were not used for the continuous Synagogue reading, as were the Torah and the Prophets, would not be so familiar, or lend themselves so readily to allusion or quotation.[3] Nor (so far as people other than professed theological students possessed or were

[1] Herford, *Pharisaism*, p. 123, "It was part of the common stock of religious ideas, a natural element in the Jewish religion of that time."

[2] A disastrous result in the region of textual criticism is considered in Appendix V.

[3] This can be demonstrated by the use in the New Testament of the books admitted to the Hebrew Canon. The Hagiographa citations are a tiny fraction of those from the Torah and Prophets.

able to read books) would the extra-canonical books be so much used as the older collection, for the same reason of the growing strictness of the Canon. And the majority of the New Testament writers (excluding St. Paul and the writer of Hebrews) were of the less educated class.

Some further reasons may be found in the character of the Apocrypha and other books of the same period.

(*a*) The Apocrypha is exceedingly wordy and redundant. A considerable portion of it is reworked from older books, and we have already found that much of the influence of its language on the New Testament comes from some of the traditional matter which it adds in these places. Thus the same proverbs occur in slightly different forms in many places; whole chapters are given to varied illustrations of a single moral, and that often a very hackneyed theme; nay, whole books repeat themselves, *e.g.* 1 Esdras is a second edition of 2 Chronicles and Ezra with a very small portion of new material, 2 and 3 Maccabees are a new treatment of the story given in the first book. The same is largely true of the Pseudepigrapha. If these books were reduced by the omission of all that is in the Old Testament, and all that appears more than once, with the exception of the Apocalyptic visions, there would be a remarkably small residuum. So that from a small source there must be but a small stream.

(*b*) Allowance must be made for the loss of many books in whole or part, which contributes to this paucity of material. No parallels can be found without the older books to compare. The date of some of the books extant, too, is later than that of the majority of the New Testament; these have been perforce excluded from our consideration, and further reduce the available material.

(*c*) More important, perhaps, is the fact that the Bible, as containing a record of the gradual Revelation of God, must differ in the power and value of its parts, not according to the space that any writer may take to give his message, but by the amount and intensity of the Revelation vouchsafed to him. Now the Apocrypha itself admits the absence of direct revelation to any great extent during its period—just as in the days of Eli there had been "no open vision," so the Maccabees had to lay aside the stones of the desecrated Altar till a prophet should arise—it was rather a time of assimilation of truths already proclaimed than for the setting forth of new ones, or the gradual evolution of doctrines from prophetical premisses. This is the direct opposite to the case of the New Testament, which was produced under the necessity of recording the Revelation of God in the Incarnation, and its fulness would the less be dependent on a comparatively sterile period.[1]

[1] Burkitt, *Apoc.* p. 15, "They are not great in themselves. They are not worth much as literature, or as contributions to thought. They

It will be natural, therefore, that there should be a marked contrast between the Apocryphal and similar books (with their laboured Rabbinic style) and the virility and freshness of the New Testament (in spite of exceptions such as Jude), because the latter was written in the Spirit and Power of Him who "taught as one having authority and not as the Scribes." [1]

And further, when we find some well-worn phrase or idea, it has not seldom a new and richer meaning, it is transformed into a new and pregnant λόγιον.[2]

> Nothing of (it) that doth fade,
> But doth suffer a sea change
> Into something rich and strange.[3]

We shall not, however, think the less of the source or of the patient evolution of thought and language which provided the vehicle for the wider

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throw no light directly on the problems of our time, in the sense that Aeschylus or Plato, Amos or the Gospels, throw light. . . . No, the value of the Apocalypses is of quite a different order. They are the most characteristic survivals of what I will venture to call, with all its narrowness and its incoherence, the heroic age of Jewish History, the age when the nation attempted to realise in action the part of the peculiar people of God."

[1] *Ibid.* p. 6, "The Christian Apocalypse of John, as we read it, may be a complication of different dates, or a reissue of an earlier book, but in this respect the core of it breathes a new spirit. 'I, John, . . . I heard . . .' this is new."

[2] A. B. Bruce (quoted in *Manch. Th. Lec.* Ser. 1, p. 112), "Jesus . . . borrowed from the past in such a way as to transmute traditional data into a newer conception."

[3] Shakespeare, *Tempest*, Act 1, Sc. 2, Ariel's second song.

and fuller revelation. Nay, we cannot fully comprehend the latter unless we equally fully understand the form in which it was written down, the exact value of the phrases used to record the message,—the contents of a bottle can only be classified as to colour when the tint of the containing glass is previously ascertained. And we believe in a reasonable account of Human History, that God is therein ever "working His purpose out," but always by Human hands, speaking through Human throats. We desire, therefore, to know much of His instruments, the Human vehicles of His Teaching, not only that we may the better understand the How of His leading in the past, but that we may trace more accurately the same guiding Hand to-day, in the same Human instruments, and thus make fuller progress in learning Divine truth, ever choosing the best, ever looking for fresh guidance, and discarding as in time past the merely human or the provisional stages in religious progress.

EXPLICIT.

APPENDIX I

SMALL PASSAGES OF APOCALYPTIC MATTER IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

Mt. 3. 7 wrath to come
3. 10-12 wrath to come
4. 17 Kingdom of Heaven at hand
4. 23 Gospel of Kingdom
5. 17-20 Gospel of Kingdom
5. 29, 30 Gehenna
7. 22 that day
8. 11, 12 many from east and west
8. 29 punishing demons before the time
10. 7 Kingdom of Heaven at hand
10. 15 day of Judgement
10. 16-23 the end
10. 28 Gehenna
11. 14 Elijah
11. 22, 24 day of Judgement
12. 28 Kingdom of God come
12. 32 present and future aeons
12. 36 day of Judgement
12. 43-45 demonology
13. 37-43 explanation of parable of tares
Mt. 13. 49, 50 end of the aeon
16. 24-28 Parousia
17. 10-13 Elijah
18. 7-9 Gehenna
19. 28-30 the regeneration
23. 29-36 Gehenna
26. 64 Parousia
28. 20 end of aeon

Mk. 1. 14, 15 = Mt. 4. 17
8. 38–9. 1 = Mt. 10. 32 and 16. 28
9. 11-13 = Mt. 17. 10-13
9. 43-48 = Mt. 18. 7-9
10. 30 coming aeon
11. 10 Davidic kingdom
14. 62 = Mt. 26. 64

Lk. 1. 32, 33, and 69 Davidic kingdom
2. 25, 30, 38 consolation of Israel
3. 7 = Mt. 3. 7
3. 16, 17 = Mt. 3. 10-12
4. 18-21 Sermon at Nazareth
8. 31 demons ask not to be sent into abyss

Lk. 9. 26, 27 = Mt. 10. 23
10. 12-16 = Mt. 11. 21-24
10. 18 fall of Satan
11. 15-22 = Mt. 12. 28
11. 24-26 = Mt. 12. 43-45
11. 50 = Mt. 23. 34
12. 5 = Mt. 10. 28
12. 35-46 Parables on the Parousia.
13. 23-30 = Mt. 7. 22
14. 14 recompense deferred to the Judgement
17. 20, 21 Kingdom of God within
17. 22-37 = Mt. 24. 26
18. 8 Parousia
18. 30 coming aeon = Mk. 10. 30
22. 29, 30 Parousia
22. 69 = Mt. 26. 64
23. 28-31 Woes

Jn. 1. 51 angels at Parousia
2. 4 hour not come
3. 13, 31 Son of Man descending from heaven
5. 25-29 resurrection and judgement
6. 62 ascending of Son of Man
7. 8 the time
14. 30 ruler of this cosmos
17. 13-18 this cosmos
18. 36 Kingdom not of this cosmos; also mystical language in chapters 3, 4, and 7, and the Messianic questions in chapter 7

Ac. 1. 6, 7 restoration of the Kingdom
2. 17-21 quotation from Joel
3. 19-21 restoration
7. 56 vision of St. Stephen
10. 42 Judge of quick and dead
11. 18 repentance unto life for the Gentiles
17. 31 day of Judgement
24. 15 resurrection of just and unjust
24. 25 judgement to come

Ro. 1. 18 wrath of God
5. 9 wrath of God
11. 25-32 restoration of all Israel
13. 11-14 day at hand
14. 10 judgement seat of God

1 Co. 1. 7, 8 Apocalypse of Jesus Christ
3. 13 day and fire
4. 5 judgement
6. 2, 3 judging angels
6. 9, 10 Kingdom of God
7. 31 cosmos passing away
11. 32 passing affliction
15. 19, 50-54 new life
16. 22 Maran atha

2 Co. 1. 14 day of Jesus

Eph. 1. 10 fulness of seasons
5. 6 wrath of God

Ph. 1. 10 day of Christ
4. 6 Lord at hand

Col. 3. 6 wrath of God

1 Th. 1. 10 wait for Parousia; wrath to come
2. 19 Parousia
3. 13 Parousia
5. 23 Parousia

2 Ti. 3. 1-17 last days
4. 1 Parousia and Kingdom

Tit. 2. 13 looking for Parousia

He. 2. 5 coming earth
9. 26 consummation of the aeons

Jas. 5. 3 last days
5. 7 Parousia

1 Jn. 2. 8 darkness passing
2. 17 cosmos passing
2. 18 last hour
2. 28 Parousia
4. 17 day of Judgement

APPENDIX II

IDEAS AND METAPHORS

Wisdom	
3. 8 the just judge nations (as in Sir. 4. 15 the Wisdom Seeker *κρινεῖ ἔθνη*)	1 Co. 6. 2 the Saints judge the world
4. 2 from the Games	2 Ti. 2. 5 and elsewhere
4. 3 shallow ground	Mt. 13. 5 ; Lk. 8. 6
11. 5 water as salvation or ruin	1 Pe. 3. 20
12. 24 animal gods	Ro. 1. 23
13. 1 God to be seen in Nature Cf. T. Naph. 3. 4	Ac. 17. 22-31
15. 3 knowledge = righteousness	Jo. 17. 3 knowledge = eternal life
15. 11 *ψυχὴν ἐνεργοῦσαν . . . πνεῦμα ζωτικόν*	1 Co. 15. 45 *ψυχὴν ζῶσαν . . . πνεῦμα ζωοποιοῦν* Cf. 1 Th. 5. 23
16. 20 Bread from Heaven	Jo. 6. 31-35, etc.
18. 4 light given to all men	Jo. 1. 9
18. 21 Prayer and Incense	Rev. 8. 4
19. 18 *στοιχεῖα* of music	Ga. 4. 3, 9 ; Col. 2. 8, 20 ; He. 5. 12

And throughout the book the themes of the kinds of idolatry, the influence of idol worship on morality, especially as leading to unnatural wickedness, and the similarity of the punishment meted out to the crime committed, are all to be noticed in the Epistle to the Romans.

SIRACH	
1. 29 *χείλεσίν σου πρόσεχε*	Jas. 3. 2
6. 34 the Wisdom Seeker	Lk. 2. 46 Christ among the Doctors
8. 3 putting fuel to the fire of the tongue	Jas. 3. 5-8
8. 5 spare the fallen as he tries to rise	2 Co. 2. 7
10. 3 *πόλις οἰκισθήσεται*	1 Co. 3. 10 ff.; Eph. 2. 22; 1 Pe. 2. 5
11. 19 (cf. 31. 3 ; En. 98. 8-10)	Lk. 12. 16 Parable of Rich Fool
13. 1 touching pitch	1 Co. 15. 33 similar motto
13. 9 places at feasts (Pro. 25. 6)	Lk. 14. 7 our Lord's similar advice
13. 25 seeing the heart	Lk. 9. 47 ; cf. 1 Sam. 16. 7
14. 18 *ὡς φύλλον*	1 Pe. 1. 24 *ὡς χόρτος*
18. 13 *ὡς ποιμὴν*	Jo. 10. 11 ; 1 Pe. 2. 25
24. 17 *ἐγὼ ὡς ἄμπελος*	Jo. 15. 1 *ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ ἄμ. ἡ ἀληθινή*
25. 8 unequal marriage	2 Co. 6. 14
28. 2 forgiveness	Mt. 6. 14, 15 ; 18. 35
29. 10 rust	Jas. 5. 3 ; Mt. 6. 19
32. 16 about light	Mt. 5. 14-16
33. 2 ship in a storm	Jas. 1. 6 ; 3. 4
34. 3 mirror	Jas. 1. 24
35. 11 *ἱλάρωσον τὸ πρόσωπόν σου* refers to fasting	Mt. 6. 17 *καὶ τὸ πρόσωπόν σου νίψαι* our Lord's advice on fasting
39. 15	Lk. 1. 46
48. 3 example from Elijah	Jas. 5. 17
51. 26 *τὸν τράχηλον ὑμῶν ὑπόθετε ὑπὸ ζυγόν*	Mt. 11. 29 *ἄρατε τὸν ζυγόν μου ἐφ' ὑμᾶς*
TOBIT	
5. 15 a drachma a day	Cf. the rate of pay in Mt. 20. 2
T. LEVI	
3. 9 *οἱ οὐρανοὶ καὶ ἡ γῆ καὶ . . . σαλεύονται* ; 4. 1 *πετρῶν σχιζομένων . . . ἡλίου σβεννυμένου*	Cf. the Apocalyptic phenomena in Mt. 24. 29 ; Mk. 13. 25 ; Lk. 21. 26 ; He. 12. 26 ; Rev. 9. 2 ; also Mt. 27. 51
8. 2 *στέφανον τῆς δικαιοσύνης* Cf. Sir. 1. 11 *στ. ἀγαλλιάματος* ; 1. 18 *στ. σοφίας*	2 Ti. 4. 8 *ὁ τῆς δ. στέφανος* 1 Th. 2. 19 *στ. καυχήσεως* Jas. 1. 12 ; Rev. 2. 10 *στ. ζωῆς* 1 Pe. 5. 4 *στ. δόξης*

T. Levi	
14. 4 traditions contrary to Commandments	Cf. Mk. 7. 9 al.
18. 11 Saints eat of the tree of life (cf. Enoch)	Rev. 22. 2
T. Dan	
5. 3 conjunction of love to God and neighbour	Mt. 22. 37, 39 ; Lk. 10. 27
T. Naphtali	
3. 4 teaching from Nature	Ac. 13 and 17
T. Gad	
5. 10 (Wis. 16. 9 ; 2 Macc. 13. 8) punishment fitting crime	Ga. 6. 7 ; Col. 3. 25 ; Rev. 16. 6
T. Benjamin	
10. 6 Patriarchs in the Resurrection	Lk. 13. 28.
Enoch	
94. 8-11 ; 96. 4-8 ; 97. 7-10 ; 46. 7 woes against the rich	Cf. Jas. 5. 1-6
71. 10 the Head of Days . . . His head white and pure as wool	Rev. 1. 14 His head and His hair were white as white wool, white as snow
14. 20 His raiment shone more brightly than the sun and was whiter than any snow	16 His countenance was as the sun shineth in his strength
14. 24 prostrate upon my face trembling	17 I fell at His feet as one dead

This description of the Divine Appearance is remarkably similar in both cases.

13. 10 to reprimand the heavenly Watchers	1 Co. 6. 3 we shall judge angels
45. 4; 72. 1; 91. 16 new heaven and earth	2 Pe. 3. 13
100. 4 the angels shall descend . . . and gather . . . all those who brought down sin	Mt. 13. 41 . . . angels . . . shall gather . . . them that do iniquity

ENOCH

101. 4 how the ships are shaken by the winds

61. 10 angels of power . . . angels of principalities.

Cf. Sec. of En. 20. 1 nine orders of angels ; dominions, orders, governments, thrones, etc.

Jas. 3. 4 the ships . . . are driven by rough winds

Cf. Lk. 1. 19 ; Rev. 8. 2 ; Eph. 1. 21 ; 3. 10 ; Ro. 8. 38 ; 1 Pe. 3. 22

(*see above* "*Angelology.*")

APPENDIX III

REMINISCENCES AND PARALLELS[1]

Wisdom

1. 1	
ἀγαπήσατε δικαιοσύνην	Mt. 5. 6 *διψῶντες τὴν δικαιοσύνην* Mt. 6. 33 *ζητεῖτε . . . τὴν δ.* Cf. He. 1. 9, quoting Ps. 45. 8
ἐν ἁπλότητι καρδίας. Cf. Test. xii. Patr.	Eph. 6. 5 ; Col. 3. 22
1. 4	
σώματι καταχρέῳ ἁμαρτίας	Ro. 7. 14 *πεπραμένος ὑπὸ τὴν ἁμ.*
2. 10	
καταδυναστεύωμεν πένητα δίκαιον	Jas. 2. 6 *οἱ πλούσιοι καταδυναστεύουσιν ὑμῶν*
2. 11	
νόμος τῆς δικαιοσύνης	Ro. 9. 31 *νόμον δικαιοσύνης*
2. 13	
γνῶσιν ἔχειν Θεοῦ	Ro. 11. 33 *γνώσεως Θεοῦ* 2 Co. 10. 5 *τῆς γνώσεως τοῦ Θεοῦ*
2. 22	
οὐκ ἔγνωσαν μυστήρια αὐτοῦ	Mt. 13. 11 *γνῶναι τὰ μυστήρια τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν.* Cf. Mk. 4. 11 ; Lk. 8. 10 ; Ro. 11. 25 ; 1 Co. 13. 2 ; Eph. 6. 19
3. 1, 7	
δικαίων . . . ἀναλάμψουσιν	Mt. 13. 43 *οἱ δίκαιοι ἐκλάμψουσι*

3. 4

ἡ ἐλπὶς αὐτῶν ἀθανασίας πλήρης — Ac. 23. 6 ἐλπίδος καὶ ἀναστάσεως

3. 5

ἀξίους ἑαυτοῦ — Mt. 10. 37 οὐκ ἔστι μου ἄξιος

3. 8

καὶ βασιλεύσει αὐτῶν Κύριος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας — Rev. 11. 15 Κυρίου . . . καὶ βασιλεύσει εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων

3. 9 ; 4. 15

χάρις καὶ ἔλεος — 1 Ti. 1. 2 ; 2 Ti. 1. 2 ; 2 Jo. 3 χ. ἔ.

τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς αὐτοῦ — Mt. 24. 31 ; Lk. 18. 7

3. 13

μακαρία στεῖρα — Lk. 23. 29 μακάριαι αἱ στεῖραι

3. 18

οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἐλπίδα — Eph. 2. 12 ἐλπίδα μὴ ἔχοντες
1 Th. 4. 13 οἱ μὴ ἔχοντες ἐλπίδα

3. 19

χαλεπὰ τὰ τέλη — 2 Co. 11. 15 ὧν τὸ τέλος ἔσται κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν
Ph. 3. 19 ὧν τὸ τέλος ἀπώλεια

5. 5

ἐν ἁγίοις ὁ κλῆρος αὐτοῦ — Ac. 26. 18 κλῆρον ἐν τοῖς ἡγιασμένοις

5. 15

καὶ ἐν Κυρίῳ ὁ μισθὸς αὐτῶν — Rev. 22. 12 καὶ ὁ μισθός μου μετ' ἐμοῦ

5. 16

λήμψονται . . . τὸ διάδημα τοῦ κάλλους ἐκ χειρὸς Κυρίου — Jas. 1. 12 λήψεται τὸν στέφανον τῆς ζωῆς ὃν ἐπηγγείλατο

6. 3, 4

. . . ἡ δυναστεία παρὰ Ὑψίστου . . . — Cf. Ro. 13. 1 οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἐξουσία εἰ μὴ ὑπὸ Θεοῦ . . .

6. 4

τὴν βουλὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ — Lk. 7. 30 τὴν βουλὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ

6. 18

ἀγάπη δὲ τήρησις νόμων αὐτῆς — Ro. 13. 10 πλήρωμα οὖν νόμου ἡ ἀγάπη

6. 22

ἀπ' ἀρχῆς γενέσεως — Mk. 10. 6 ; 13. 19 ; 2 Pe. 3. 4 ἀπ' ἀρχῆς κτίσεως

7. 7	
ἦλθέν μοι πνεῦμα σοφίας	Eph. 1. 17 δῴη ὑμῖν πνεῦμα σοφίας
7. 25	
τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ δυνάμεως	Mt. 22. 29 τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ Θεοῦ Mk. 12. 24 τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ Θεοῦ Lk. 22. 69 τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ Θεοῦ Ro. 1. 16 δύναμις γὰρ Θεοῦ 1 Co. 1. 18 δύναμις Θεοῦ, 24 Θεοῦ δύναμιν
7. 26	
ἀπαύγασμα γάρ ἐστιν φωτὸς ἀϊδίου . . . καὶ εἰκὼν τῆς ἀγαθότητος αὐτοῦ	He. 1. 3 ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης καὶ χαρακτὴρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ 2 Co. 4. 4 εἰς τὸ μὴ αὐγάσαι τὸν φωτισμὸν . . . ὅς ἐστιν εἰκὼν τοῦ Θεοῦ
7. 27	
φίλους Θεοῦ	Jas. 2. 23 φίλος Θεοῦ ἐκλήθη
8. 2	
ἐκ νεότητός μου	Mk. 10. 20 ; Lk. 18. 21 ; Ac. 26. 4 ἐκ νεότητός μου
8. 13	
ἕξω δι᾽ αὐτὴν ἀθανασίαν	1 Ti. 6. 16 ὁ μόνος ἔχων ἀθανασίαν
8. 21	
ἐνέτυχον τῷ Κυρίῳ	Ro. 11. 2 ἐντυγχάνει τῷ Θεῷ
9. 3	
ἐν ὁσιότητι καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ	Lk. 1. 75 ἐν ὁ. καὶ δ. Eph. 4. 24 ἐν δ. καὶ ὁ.
9. 6	
τέλειος . . . σοφίας ἀπούσης εἰς οὐδὲν λογισθήσεται	1 Co. 3. 19 ἡ γὰρ σοφία τοῦ κόσμου τούτου μωρία παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ
9. 8	
ἐν ὄρει ἁγίῳ σου	2 Pe. 1. 18 ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ ἁγίῳ
9. 10	
ἐξαπόστειλον αὐτὴν (σοφία)	Ga. 4. 4 (of our Lord) ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ Θεὸς „ 4. 6 (of the Holy Spirit) ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ Θεὸς

ἀπὸ θρόνου δόξης σου	Mt. 19. 28 *ἐπὶ θρόνου δόξης αὐτοῦ* Mt. 25. 31 *ἐπὶ θρόνου δόξης αὐτοῦ*
9. 17	
καὶ ἔπεμψας τὸ ἅγιόν σου πνεῦμα ἀπὸ ὑψίστων	Jo. 15. 26 *ὁ Παράκλητος ὃν ἐγὼ πέμψω ὑμῖν παρὰ τοῦ Πατρός, τὸ Πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας*
10. 1	
παραπτώματος (of Adam)	Ro. 5. 15 ff. (The same word used of Adam six times).
10. 5	
καὶ ἐτήρησεν αὐτὸν ἄμεμπτον	1 Ti. 5. 22 *σεαυτὸν ἁγνὸν τήρει* Jas. 1. 27 *ἄσπιλον ἑαυτὸν τηρεῖν*
10. 6	
ἐξαπολλυμένων ἀσεβῶν *δίκαιον . . . ἐρρύσατο* (Lot)	2 Pe. 3. 7 *ἀπωλείας τῶν ἀσεβῶν* 2 Pe. 2. 7 *δίκαιον Λώτ . . . ἐρρύσατο*
10. 14	
δόξαν αἰώνιον	2 Ti. 2. 10 *δόξης αἰωνίου* 1 Pe. 5. 10 *τὴν αἰώνιον αὐτοῦ δόξαν*
11. 1	
ἐν χειρὶ προφήτου ἁγίου	Ga. 3. 19 *ἐν χειρὶ μεσίτου* Lk. 1. 70 *διὰ στόματος τῶν ἁ. π.* Ac. 3. 21 *διὰ στόματος τῶν ἁ. π.* 2 Pe. 3. 2 *ὑπὸ τῶν ἁγίων προφητῶν*
11. 18	
θυμοῦ πλήρεις	Ac. 19. 28 *πλήρεις θυμοῦ*
11. 23	
καὶ παροράς ἁμαρτήματα ἀνθρώπων εἰς μετάνοιαν	Ro. 2. 4 *τὸ χρηστὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ εἰς μετάνοιάν σε ἄγει* 2 Pe. 3. 9 *ἀλλὰ πάντας εἰς μ. χωρῆσαι*
11. 25	
τὸ μὴ κληθὲν ὑπὸ σοῦ διετηρήθη	Cf. Ro. 4. 17 *καλοῦντος τὰ μὴ ὄντα ὡς ὄντα*
12. 10	
τόπον μετανοίας	He. 12. 17 *μετανοίας γὰρ τόπον*

14. 7	
δικαιοσύνη (Noah)	2 Pe. 2. 5 Νῶε δικαιοσύνης κήρυκα
14. 25	
list of sins	Cf. Ro. 1. 29-32 ; Ga. 5. 19-21 ; 1 Ti. 1. 9, 10
15. 8	
τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπαιτηθεὶς χρέος	Lk. 12. 20 τὴν ψυχήν σου ἀπαιτοῦσιν
15. 11	
ἐμπνεύσαντα αὐτῷ ψυχὴν . . . πνεῦμα ζωτικόν	Cf. 1 Th. 5. 23 ; Lk. 1. 46, 47 1 Co. 15. 45 πνεῦμα ζωοποιοῦν
15. 19	
Θεοῦ ἔπαινον	Ph. 1. 11 ἔπαινον Θεοῦ
16. 28	
εὐχαριστίαν	15 times in New Testament
17. 15	
αἰφνίδιος γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀπροσδόκητος φόβος ἐπῆλθεν	1 Th. 5. 3 αἰφνίδιος αὐτοῖς ἐφίσταται ὄλεθρος
18. 15	
ὁ παντοδύναμός σου λόγος . . . ἀπότομος πολεμιστὴς	Cf. He. 4. 12 ὁ λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ ἐνεργὴς καὶ τομώτερος ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν μάχαιραν
18. 21	
λειτουργίας ὅπλον	He. 9. 21 τὰ σκεύη τῆς λειτουργίας
19. 4	
ἵνα τὴν λείπουσαν ταῖς βασάνοις προσαναπληρώσωσιν κόλασιν	Col. 1. 24 ἀνταναπληρῶ τὰ ὑστερήματα τῶν θλίψεων τοῦ Χριστοῦ
19. 6	
ὅλη γὰρ ἡ κτίσις	Ro. 8. 22 πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις
19. 7	
σκιάζουσα νεφέλη	Mk. 9. 7 νεφέλη ἐπισκιάζουσα

Sirach

1. 1	
πᾶσα σοφία παρὰ Κυρίου καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐστιν	1 Co. 1. 30 σοφία ἡμῖν ἀπὸ Θεοῦ Jo. 1. 1 ὁ Λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν Jas. 1. 5 σοφίας . . . παρὰ τοῦ διδόντος Θεοῦ Jas. 3. 17 ἡ δὲ ἄνωθεν σοφία .

1. 2 ; 18. 10	
ἡμέρας αἰῶνος	2 Pe. 3. 18 *εἰς ἡμέραν αἰῶνος*
1. 3	
σοφίαν τίς ἐξιχνιάσει	Ro. 11. 33 *ἀνεξιχνίαστοι αἱ ὁδοὶ αὐτοῦ*
1. 8	
εἷς ἐστὶν σοφός	Mt. 19. 17 *εἷς ἐστὶν ὁ ἀγαθός*
1. 10	
ἐχορήγησεν αὐτὴν τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν	1 Co. 2. 9 *ὅσα ἡτοίμασεν ὁ Θεὸς τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν*
1. 11, 18	
στέφανος ἀγαλλιάματος . . . σοφίας	1 Th. 2. 19 *στέφανος καυχήσεως* 2 Ti. 4. 8 *δικαιοσύνης στέφανος* 1 Pe. 5. 4 *δόξης στέφανον* Jas. 1. 12 *στέφανον τῆς ζωῆς* Rev. 2. 10 *στέφανον τῆς ζωῆς*
1. 26 (15. 15)	
διατήρησον ἐντολάς	Mt. 19. 17 *τήρησον τὰς ἐντολάς*
1. 40 (19. 26)	
πλήρης δόλου	Ac. 13. 10 *πλήρης παντὸς δόλου*
2. 1	
δουλεύειν Κυρίῳ Θεῷ	Mt. 6. 24 ; Lk. 16. 13 ; Ac. 20. 19 Ro. 12. 11 ; 16. 18 ; 1 Th. 1. 9
ἑτοίμασον τὴν ψυχήν σου εἰς πειρασμόν	Cf. Jas. 1. 2-4, 12-15
2. 6	
ἔλπισον ἐπ' αὐτόν	1 Ti. 5. 5 *ἤλπικεν ἐπὶ Θεόν*
3. 8	
ἐν ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ	Cf. Mt. 21. 28-31
3. 18	
ὅσῳ μέγας εἶ τοσούτῳ ταπεινοῦ σεαυτόν	Cf. Mt. 20. 26 ; Ph. 2. 3 ; 1 Pe. 5. 5
3. 20	
καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ταπεινῶν δοξάζεται	Cf. Mt. 11. 25
4. 5	
ἀπὸ δεομένου μὴ ἀποστρέψῃς ὀφθαλμόν	Mt. 5. 42 *τὸν θέλοντα ἀπὸ σοῦ δανείσασθαι μὴ ἀποστραφῇς*
4. 11	
ἡ σοφία υἱοὺς ἑαυτῇ ἀνύψωσεν	Cf. Lk. 7. 35
4. 21	
αἰσχύνη δόξα καὶ χάρις	Cf. 2 Co. 7. 10

5. 2	
ἐν ἐπιθυμίαις καρδίας σου	Ro. 1. 24 ἐν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις τῶν καρδιῶν αὐτῶν
5. 11	
γίνου ταχὺς ἐν ἀκροάσει σου	Jas. 1. 19 ἔστω . . . ταχὺς εἰς τὸ ἀκοῦσαι
6. 28	
ἐπ᾽ ἐσχάτων γὰρ εὑρήσεις τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν αὐτῆς	Mt. 11. 29 εὑρήσετε ἀνάπαυσιν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑμῶν
6. 37	
αὐτὸς στηριεῖ τὴν καρδίαν σου	1 Th. 3. 13 εἰς τὸ στηρίξαι ὑμῶν τὰς καρδίας
7. 5	
μὴ δικαιοῦ ἔναντι Κυρίου	Lk. 10. 29 ὁ δὲ θέλων δικαιῶσαι ἑαυτὸν
7. 11	
ταπεινῶν καὶ ἀνυψῶν	Lk. 1. 52 καθεῖλε δυνάστους . . . ὕψωσε ταπεινούς
7. 14	
μὴ δευτερώσῃς λόγον ἐν προσευχῇ σου	Mt. 6. 7 προσευχόμενοι δὲ μὴ βαττολογήσητε
7. 34	
μὴ ὑστέρει ἀπὸ κλαιόντων καὶ μετὰ πενθούντων πένθησον	Ro. 12. 15 κλαίειν μετὰ κλαιόντων
7. 35	
ἐπισκέπτεσθαι ἄρρωστον	Jas. 1. 27 ἐπισκέπτεσθαι ὀρφανοὺς Mt. 25. 36 ἠσθένησα καὶ ἐπεσκέψασθέ με
9. 8	
ἀπόστρεψον ὀφθαλμὸν ἀπὸ γυναικὸς εὐμόρφου	Mt. 5. 28 ὁ βλέπων γυναῖκα πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι αὐτῆς Jo. 4. 27 ἐθαύμαζον ὅτι μετὰ γυναικὸς ἐλάλει
9. 13	
ὃς ἔχει ἐξουσίαν τοῦ φονεῦσαι	Lk. 12. 5 τὸν μετὰ τὸ ἀποκτεῖναι ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντα ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν γέενναν

11. 26

ἀποδοῦναι ἀνθρώπῳ κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς αὐτοῦ

Mt. 16. 27 τότε ἀποδώσει ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τὴν πρᾶξιν αὐτοῦ
Ro. 2. 6 ὃς ἀποδώσει ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ
2 Ti. 4. 14 ; Rev. 22. 12

13. 3

τί κοινωνήσει χύτρα πρὸς λέβητα ;

2 Co. 6. 14 τίς κοινωνία φωτὶ πρὸς σκότος ;

13. 7

τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ κινήσει

Mt. 27. 39 ; Mk. 15. 29 κινοῦντες τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν

13. 8

πρόσεχε μὴ ἀποπλανηθῇς

Mt. 24. 4 ; Mk. 13. 5 βλέπετε μή τις ὑμᾶς πλανήσῃ
Lk. 21. 8 βλέπετε μὴ πλανηθῆτε

13. 17

τί κοινωνήσει λύκος ἀμνῷ ;

Mt. 10. 16 ὡς πρόβατα ἐν μέσῳ λύκων

13. 29

τίς οὗτος ;

Mt. 21. 10 τίς ἐστιν οὗτος ;
Mk. 4. 41 ; Lk. 8. 25 τίς ἄρα οὗτός ἐστιν ;

14. 1

μακάριος ἀνὴρ ὃς οὐκ ὠλίσθησεν ἐν στόματι αὐτοῦ

Jas. 3. 2 εἴ τις ἐν λόγῳ οὐ πταίει οὗτος τέλειος ἀνήρ

14. 2

οὗ οὐ κατέγνω ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ

1 Jo. 3. 21 ἐὰν ἡ καρδία μὴ καταγιγνώσκῃ ἡμῶν

14. 17

ἡ γὰρ διαθήκη ἀπ' αἰῶνος θανάτῳ ἀποθανῇ

He. 9. 27 ἀπόκειται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἅπαξ ἀποθανεῖν

14. 19

καὶ ὁ ἐργαζόμενος αὐτὸ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἀπελεύσεται

Rev. 14. 13 τὰ γὰρ ἔργα αὐτῶν ἀκολουθεῖ μετ' αὐτῶν

16. 1

τέκνων πλῆθος ἀχρήστων

Philemon 11 τέκνου . . . τόν ποτε σοὶ ἄχρηστον

16. 12, 14

ἄνδρα κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ κρινεῖ. ἕκαστος κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ εὑρήσει

Ro. 2. 6 ὃς ἀποδώσει ἑκάστῳ κ. τ. ἑ. αὐ.
2 Ti. 4. 14 ἀποδώσει αὐτῷ ὁ Κύριος κ. τ. ἑ. αὐ.
1 Pe. 1. 17 κρίνοντα κατὰ τὸ ἑκάστου ἔ.
Rev. 2. 23 δώσω ὑμῖν ἑκάστῳ κ. τ. ἔ. ὑμῶν
Rev. 20. 12 ἐκρίθησαν οἱ νεκροὶ . . . κ. τ. ἔ. αὐ.
Rev. 20. 13 ἐκρίθησαν ἕκαστος κ. τ. ἔ. αὐ.
Rev. 22. 12 ἀποδοῦναι ἑκάστῳ ὡς τ. ἔ. αὐ.

16. 20

καὶ τὰς ὁδοὺς αὐτοῦ τίς ἐνθυμηθήσεται ;

Ro. 11. 33 ἀνεξιχνίαστοι αἱ ὁδοὶ αὐτοῦ. τίς γὰρ ἔγνω νοῦν Κυρίου ;

17. 12

διαθήκην αἰῶνος

He. 13. 20 διαθήκης αἰωνίου

18. 17

παρὰ ἀνδρὶ κεχαριτωμένῳ

Lk. 1. 28 χαῖρε κεχαριτωμένη

18. 30

ἐπιθυμιῶν . . . μὴ πορεύου

Ro. 13. 14 μὴ ποιεῖσθε εἰς ἐπιθυμίας

19. 26

καὶ τὰ ἐντὸς αὐτοῦ πλήρης δόλου

Cf. Mt. 23. 25, 27, 28 ; Lk. 11. 39

19. 29

ἀπὸ ὁράσεως ἐπιγνωσθήσεται ἀνήρ

Mt. 7. 16 ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιγνώσεσθε αὐτούς

21. 2

φεῦγε ἀπὸ ἁμαρτίας

1 Co. 10. 14 φεύγετε ἀπὸ τῆς εἰδωλολατρείας
2 Ti. 2. 22 τὰς δὲ νεωτερικὰς ἐπιθυμίας φεῦγε

21. 16

ἐπὶ δὲ χείλους συνετοῦ εὑρεθήσεται χάρις

Eph. 4. 29 ἵνα δῷ χάριν τοῖς ἀκούουσι

22. 11
νεκρῷ ὅτι ἀνεπαύσατο

Rev. 14. 13 *νεκροὶ . . . ἵνα ἀναπαύσωνται* (A.S.M.)

22. 21
μὴ ἀφελπίσῃς

Lk. 6. 35 *μηδὲν ἀπελπίζοντες*

24. 19
προσέλθετε πρὸς μέ

Mt. 11. 28 *δεῦτε πρός με, πάντες*

24. 21
οἱ ἐσθίοντές με ἔτι πεινάσουσιν καὶ οἱ πίνοντές με ἔτι διψήσουσιν

Jo. 4. 13 *πᾶς ὁ πίνων ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος τούτου διψήσει πάλιν· ὃς δ' ἂν πίῃ ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος οὗ ἐγὼ δώσω αὐτῷ, οὐ μὴ διψήσει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.*
Jo. 6. 35 *ὁ ἐρχόμενος πρός με οὐ μὴ πεινάσῃ καὶ . . . οὐ μὴ διψήσει . . .*
Jo. 6. 57 *. . . ὁ τρώγων με . . .*

24. 32
ἕως εἰς μακράν

Ac. 2. 39 *πᾶσι τοῖς εἰς μακράν*

27. 1
καὶ ὁ ζητῶν πληθῦναι ἀποστρέψει ὀφθαλμόν

1 Ti. 6. 9 *οἱ δὲ βουλόμενοι πλουτεῖν ἐμπίπτουσιν εἰς πειρασμὸν*

27. 6
λόγος ἐνθυμήματος καρδίας ἀνθρώπου

Cf. Mt. 12. 34; 15. 18, 19; Mk. 7. 21; Lk. 6. 45

27. 8
ἐὰν διώκῃς τὸ δίκαιον, καταλήμψῃ

Mt. 7. 7 *ζητεῖτε καὶ εὑρήσετε*
Mt. 6. 33 *ζητεῖτε . . . τὴν δικαιοσύνην*

28. 12
ἀμφότερα ἐκ τοῦ στόματός σου ἐκπορεύεται

Jas. 3. 10 *ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ στόματος ἐξέρχεται εὐλογία καὶ κατάρα*

29. 11
θὲς τὸν θησαυρόν σου κατ' ἐντολὰς Ὑψίστου

Mt. 6. 20 *θησαυρίζετε δὲ ὑμῖν θησαυροὺς ἐν οὐρανῷ*

29. 23
ἐπὶ μικρῷ καὶ μεγάλῳ εὐδοκίαν ἔχε

Ac. 26. 29 *καὶ ἐν ὀλίγῳ καὶ ἐν μεγάλῳ*

33. 1

ἀλλ' ἐν πειρασμῷ καὶ πάλιν ἐξελεῖται — 2 Pe. 2. 9 οἶδε Κύριος εὐσεβεῖς ἐκ πειρασμοῦ ῥύεσθαι

33. 7

διὰ τί ἡμέρα ἡμέρας ὑπερέχει — Ro. 14. 5 ὃς μὲν κρίνει ἡμέραν παρ' ἡμέραν

34. 7

πολλοὺς ἐπλάνησεν — Mt. 24. 5, 11; Mk. 13. 6 πολλοὺς πλανήσουσιν

35. 4

θυσιάζων αἰνέσεως — He. 13. 15 θυσίαν αἰνέσεως

35. 16

οὐ λήμψεται πρόσωπον ἐπὶ πτωχοῦ — Ga. 2. 6 πρόσωπον Θεὸς ἀνθρώπου οὐ λαμβάνει

37. 28

οὐ γὰρ πάντα πᾶσιν συμφέρει — 1 Co. 6. 12; 10. 23 πάντα μοι ἔξεστιν ἀλλ' οὐ πάντα συμφέρει

38. 10

καὶ ἀπὸ πάσης ἁμαρτίας καθάρισον καρδίαν — Jas. 4. 8 καθαρίσατε χεῖρας ἁμαρτωλοί
2 Co. 7. 1 καθαρίσωμεν ἑαυτοὺς ἀπὸ παντὸς μολυσμοῦ
1 Jo. 1. 7 καθαρίζει ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ πάσης ἁμαρτίας
1 Jo. 1. 9 καθαρίσῃ ἡμᾶς ἀ. π. ἀδικίας

38. 18

ἀπὸ λύπης γὰρ ἐκβαίνει θάνατος — 2 Co. 7. 10 ἡ δὲ τοῦ κόσμου λύπη θάνατον κατεργάζεται

39. 16

τὰ ἔργα Κυρίου πάντα ὅτι καλὰ σφόδρα — 1 Ti. 4. 4 ὅτι πᾶν κτίσμα Θεοῦ καλόν

40. 1

ζυγὸς βαρὺς — Mt. 11. 30 ὁ γὰρ ζυγός μου χρηστός
Ac. 15. 10 ζυγὸν . . . ὃν . . . οὔτε ἡμεῖς ἰσχύσαμεν βαστάσαι

40. 28

κρεῖσσον ἀποθανεῖν ἢ ἐπαιτεῖν — Lk. 16. 3 ἐπαιτεῖν αἰσχύνομαι

41. 22	
μετὰ τὸ δοῦναι μὴ ὀνείδιζε	Jas. 1. 5 *διδόντος . . . καὶ μὴ ὀνειδίζοντος*
42. 9	
μή ποτε παρακμάσῃ	1 Co. 7. 36 *ἐὰν ᾖ ὑπέρακμος*
43. 26	
καὶ ἐν λόγῳ αὐτοῦ σύνκειται πάντα	Col. 1. 17 *καὶ τὰ πάντα ἐν αὐτῷ συνέστηκε*
44. 2	
ἀπ᾽ αἰῶνος	Lk. 1. 70 *ἀπ᾽ αἰῶνος προφητῶν αὐτοῦ*
45. 5	
νόμον ζωῆς	Ro. 8. 2 *νόμος τοῦ Πνεύματος τῆς ζωῆς*
45. 7, 19; 44. 18	
διαθήκην αἰώνιον	He. 13. 20 *διαθήκης αἰωνίου*
47. 1	
καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον ἀνέστη Ναθὰν	Ac. 5. 37 *μετὰ τοῦτον ἀνέστη Ἰούδας*
51. 5	
ἐκ χειρὸς ζητούντων τὴν ψυχήν μου	Mt. 2. 20 *οἱ ζητοῦντες τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ παιδίου* Lk. 17. 33 *ὃς ἐὰν ζητήσῃ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ*
51. 28	
μετάσχετε παιδείαν ἐν πολλῷ ἀριθμῷ ἀργυρίου	Ac. 22. 28 *ἐγὼ πολλοῦ κεφαλαίου τὴν πολιτείαν ταύτην ἐκτησάμην*
51. 30	
ἐργάζεσθε τὸ ἔργον ὑμῶν πρὸ καιροῦ	Jo. 9. 4 *ἡμᾶς δεῖ ἐργάζεσθαι τὰ ἔργα τοῦ πέμψαντός με*

Tobit

1. 3	
ὁδοῖς ἀληθείας ἐπορευόμην	3 Jo. 3 *σὺ ἐν ἀληθείᾳ περιπατεῖς*
1. 16-18	
good deeds	Cf. Mt. 25. 36
3. 16	
ἐνώπιον τῆς δόξης τοῦ μεγάλου	Tit. 2. 13 *τῆς δόξης τοῦ μεγάλου Θεοῦ*

4. 3 (א)

καὶ μὴ λυπήσῃς τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτῆς — Eph. 4. 30 καὶ μὴ λυπεῖτε τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον τοῦ Θεοῦ

4. 7

ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων σοι ποίει ἐλεημοσύνην, καὶ μὴ φθονεσάτω σου ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς ἐν τῷ ποιεῖν σε ἐλεημοσύνην· καὶ μὴ ἀποστρέψῃς τὸ πρόσωπόν σου ἀπὸ παντὸς πτωχοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ σοῦ οὐ μὴ ἀποστραφῇ τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ Θεοῦ·

Lk. 11. 41 δότε ἐλεημοσύνην
„ 12. 33 πωλήσατε τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ὑμῶν καὶ δότε ἐλεημοσύνην
2 Co. 9. 7 μὴ ἐκ λύπης
Mt. 5. 42 καὶ τὸν θέλοντα ἀπὸ σοῦ δανείσασθαι μὴ ἀποστραφῇς
2 Co. 9. 7 ἱλαρὸν γὰρ δότην ἀγαπᾷ ὁ Θεός

4. 8

ὡς σοὶ ὑπάρχει κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος ποίησον ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐλεημοσύνην· ἐὰν ὀλίγον σοι ὑπάρχῃ κατὰ τὸ ὀλίγον μὴ φοβοῦ ποιεῖν ἐλεημοσύνην·

Cf. 1 Co. 16. 2 ; 2 Co. 8. 12 ; Ga. 6. 10 proportional giving expected by God

4. 9

θέμα γὰρ ἀγαθὸν θησαυρίζεις σεαυτῷ εἰς ἡμέραν ἀνάγκης

1 Ti. 6. 19 ἀποθησαυρίζοντες ἑαυτοῖς θεμέλιον καλὸν εἰς τὸ μέλλον

4. 12

πρόσεχε σεαυτῷ, παιδίον, ἀπὸ πάσης πορνείας

1 Th. 4. 3 ἀπέχεσθαι ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς π.

4. 14

ἐὰν δουλεύσῃς τῷ Θεῷ ἀποδοθήσεταί σοι

Mt. 6. 4, 6, 18 ὁ πατήρ σου . . . ἀποδώσει σοι

πρόσεχε σεαυτῷ . . . ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἔργοις

Eph. 5. 15 βλέπετε οὖν ἀκριβῶς πῶς περιπατεῖτε

4. 15

καὶ ὃ μισεῖς μηδενὶ ποιήσῃς

Mt. 7. 12 (Lk. 6. 31) πάντα οὖν ὅσα ἂν θέλητε ἵνα ποιῶσιν ὑμῖν οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς ποιεῖτε αὐτοῖς

οἶνον εἰς μέθην μὴ πίῃς

Eph. 5. 18 μὴ μεθύσκεσθε οἴνῳ

4. 19

αὐτὸς ὁ Κύριος δίδωσιν πάντα τὰ ἀγαθὰ

Jas. 1. 17 πᾶσα δόσις ἀγαθὴ . . . ἄνωθεν

4. 21

ὑπάρχει σοι πολλά, ἐὰν φοβηθῇς τὸν Θεὸν	1 Ti. 6. 6 ἔστι δὲ πορισμὸς μέγας ἡ εὐσέβεια

7. 6

ἀνεπήδησεν . . . κατεφίλησεν αὐτὸν	Lk. 15. 20 δραμὼν . . . κατεφίλησεν αὐτόν Mt. 26. 49 ; Mk. 14. 45 προσελθὼν . . . κατεφίλησεν αὐτόν

7. 10 (א)

φάγε καὶ πίε καὶ ἡδέως γενοῦ	Lk. 12. 19 φάγε, πίε, εὐφραίνου

7. 11

ἔδωκα τὸ παιδίον μου ἑπτὰ ἀνδράσιν	Cf. the Sadducees' problem, Mt. 22. 25 ; Mk. 12. 20 ; Lk. 20. 29

7. 14 (א)

ἤρξαντο φαγεῖν καὶ πεῖν	Lk. 15. 24 ἤρξαντο εὐφραίνεσθαι

8. 3

καὶ ἔδησεν αὐτὸ [δαιμόνιον] ὁ ἄγγελος	Rev. 20. 1 εἶδον ἄγγελον . . . διάβολος . . . καὶ ἔδησεν αὐτόν

12. 12

τὸ μνημόσυνον τῆς προσευχῆς ὑμῶν ἐνώπιον τοῦ ἁγίου	Ac. 10. 4 αἱ προσευχαί σου . . . εἰς μνημόσυνον ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ Θεοῦ

12. 15

ἐγώ εἰμι Ῥαφαήλ εἷς ἐκ τῶν ἑπτὰ ἁγίων ἀγγέλων οἳ . . . ἐνώπιον τῆς δόξης τοῦ ἁγίου Cf. T. Levi 3. 7	Lk. 1. 19 ἐγώ εἰμι Γαβριὴλ ὁ παρεστηκὼς ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ Rev. 8. 2 τοὺς ἑπτὰ ἀγγέλους οἱ ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ

12. 17

μὴ φοβεῖσθε . . .	Mt. 28. 5, 10
εἰρήνη ὑμῖν ἔσται . . .	Lk. 24. 36; Jo. 20. 19, 21, 26
ἀλλὰ τῇ θελήσει τοῦ Θεοῦ . . .	Jo. 1. 13 οὐδὲ ἐκ θελήματος ἀνδρὸς ἀλλὰ ἐκ Θεοῦ

12. 19

ὅρασιν ὑμεῖς ἐθεωρεῖτε	Lk. 24. 37, 39 ἐδόκουν πνεῦμα θεωρεῖν

12. 20 (א)

ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἀναβαίνω πρὸς τὸν ἀποστείλαντά με	Jo. 16. 5 νῦν δὲ ὑπάγω πρὸς τὸν πέμψαντά με

13. 18 (א)

εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ	Lk. 1. 68 εὐλογητὸς Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ Ἰ.

1 Maccabees

1. 10	
ῥίζα ἁμαρτωλὸς	Ro. 11. 16 ῥίζα ἁγία
1. 11	
ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις ἐξῆλθεν	Lk. 2. 1 ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις ἐξ.
1. 13	
ἔδωκαν αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν	Mt. 9. 8 and many others
1. 15	
διαθήκης ἁγίας	Lk. 1. 72 διαθήκης ἁγίας
ἐξευγίσθησαν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν	2 Co. 6. 14 ἑτεροζυγοῦντες ἀπίστοις
καὶ ἐπράθησαν ποιῆσαι πονηρόν	Ro. 7. 14 πεπραμένος ὑπὸ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν
1. 34	
ἔθνος ἁμαρτωλόν	Ga. 2. 15 ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἁμαρτωλοί
1. 45	
βεβηλῶσαι σάββατα	Mt. 12. 5 τὸ σάββατον βεβηλοῦσι
1. 64	
καὶ ἐγένετο ὀργὴ μεγάλη ἐπὶ Ἰσραὴλ σφόδρα	Lk. 21. 23 καὶ ὀργὴ τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ
2. 9	
τὰ σκεύη τῆς δόξης	Ac. 9. 15 σκεῦος ἐκλογῆς Ro. 9. 22 σκεύη ὀργῆς „ 9. 23 σκεύη ἐλέους 2 Ti. 2. 21 σκεῦος εἰς τιμήν
2. 18	
τὸ πρόσταγμα τοῦ βασιλέως	He. 11. 23 τὸ διάταγμα τοῦ βασιλέως
2. 21	
ἵλεως ἡμῖν	Mt. 16. 22 ἵλεώς σοι, Κύριε
2. 23	
ὡς ἐπαύσατο λαλῶν	Lk. 5. 4 ὡς δὲ ἐπαύσατο λαλῶν
2. 26	
ἐζήλωσεν τῷ νόμῳ	Ac. 21. 20 ζηλωταὶ τοῦ νόμου
2. 27	
ἐξελθέτο ὀπίσω μου	Lk. 14. 27 ἔρχεται ὀπίσω μου Mt. 16. 24; Mk. 8. 34; Lk. 9. 23

2. 29

ζητοῦντες δικαιοσύνην	Mt. 6. 33 ζητεῖτε . . . τὴν δικαιοσύνην

2. 50

δότε τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῶν ὑπὲρ διαθήκης	Mt. 20. 28 δοῦναι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ. Mk. 10. 45

2. 51

δόξαν αἰώνιον	2 Ti. 2. 10 δόξης αἰωνίου 1 Pe. 5. 10 τὴν αἰώνιον αὐτοῦ δόξαν

2. 62

ἀνδρὸς ἁμαρτωλοῦ	Lk. 5. 8 ἀνὴρ ἁμαρτωλός. 19. 7 ἁμαρτωλῷ ἀνδρὶ

2. 65

αὐτοῦ ἀκούετε αὐτὸς ὑμῖν ἔσται εἰς πατέρα	Mt. 17. 5 ; Mk. 9. 7 ; Lk. 9. 35 Cf. He. 1. 5 from Ps. 2. 7

2. 70 ; 13. 26

καὶ ἐκόψατο αὐτὸν πᾶς Ἰσραὴλ κοπετὸν μέγαν	Ac. 8. 2 καὶ ἐποίησαν κοπετὸν μέγαν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ

3. 25

τὰ ἔθνη τὰ κύκλῳ αὐτῶν	Mk. 6. 36 εἰς τὰς κύκλῳ ἀγρούς Lk. 9. 12 εἰς τὰς κύκλῳ κώμας

3. 45

οὐκ ἦν ὁ εἰσπορευόμενος καὶ ἐκπορευόμενος	Ac. 9. 28 καὶ ἦν μετ᾽ αὐτῶν εἰσπ. κ. ἐκπ.

3. 54

καὶ ἐβόησαν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ	Mk. 15. 34 ἐβόησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς φωνῇ μ.

3. 59

ὅτι κρεῖσσον ἡμᾶς ἀποθανεῖν	1 Pe. 3. 17 κρεῖττον γὰρ . . πάσχειν

3. 60

ὡς δ᾽ ἂν ᾖ θέλημα ἐν οὐρανῷ	Mt. 6. 11 τὸ θέλημά σου, ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ

4. 10

εἰ θελήσει ἡμᾶς	Mt. 27. 43 εἰ θέλει αὐτόν

4. 29

συνήντησεν αὐτοῖς Ἰούδας ἐν δέκα χιλιάσιν ἀνδρῶν	Lk. 14. 31 ἐν δέκα χιλιάσιν ὑπαντῆσαι τῷ . . . ἐρχομένῳ

6. 27	
μείζονα τούτων ποιήσουσιν	Jo. 14. 12 *μείζονα τούτων ποιήσει*
7. 4	
ἐκάθισεν . . ἐπὶ θρόνου βασιλείας αὐτοῦ	Cf. Mt. 19. 28; 25. 31; He. 8. 1
8. 14	
περιεβάλοντο πορφύραν	Rev. 17. 4 *περιβεβλημένη πορφυροῦν*
9. 26	
ἐξεζήτουν καὶ ἐξηραύνων	1 Pe. 1. 10 *ἐξεζήτησαν καὶ ἐξηρεύνησαν*
9. 29	
ἀφ' οὗ . . . τετελεύτηκεν	2 Pe. 3. 4 *ἀφ' ἧς γὰρ . . . ἐκοιμήθησαν*
9. 32	
καὶ ἐζήτει αὐτὸν ἀποκτεῖναι	Ac. 21. 31 *ζητούντων τε αὐτὸν ἀποκτεῖναι* Jo. 5. 18 *ἐζήτουν αὐτὸν . . . ἀποκτεῖναι*
9. 39	
καὶ ὁ νυμφίος ἐξῆλθεν καὶ οἱ φίλοι αὐτοῦ	Cf. Mt. 9. 15; 25. 10; Jo. 3. 29
11. 38	
ἕκαστον εἰς τὸν ἴδιον τόπον	Ac. 1. 25 *εἰς τὸν τόπον τὸν ἴδιον*
11. 40	
ὅπως βασιλεύσῃ ἀντὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ	Mt. 2. 22 *βασιλεύει . . ἀντὶ Ἡρῴδου τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ*
12. 4	
ὅπως προπέμπωσιν αὐτοὺς μετ' εἰρήνης	1 Co. 16. 11 *προπέμψατε αὐτὸν ἐν εἰρήνῃ* Cf. Ac. 15. 3; 20. 38; 21. 5; Ro. 15. 24; 1 Co. 16. 6; 2 Co. 1. 16; Tit. 3. 13; 3 Jo. 6
12. 9	
τὰ βιβλία τὰ ἅγια	Cf. Ro. 15. 4; 2 Ti. 3. 15
12. 18, 22	
καὶ νῦν καλῶς ποιήσετε	Ac. 10. 33 *καλῶς ἐποίησας* Cf. 1 Co. 7. 37, 38; Ph. 4. 14; Jas. 2. 8, 19; 2 Pe. 1. 19; 3 Jo. 6

12. 21

ἐκ γένους Ἀβραάμ	Ac. 13. 26 υἱοὶ γένους Ἀβραάμ

13. 35

καὶ ἔγραψεν αὐτῷ ἐπιστολὴν τοιαύτην	Ac. 23. 25 γράψας ἐπιστολὴν ἔχουσαν τὸν τύπον τοῦτον

14. 3

καὶ ἔθετο αὐτὸν ἐν φυλακῇ	Mt. 14. 3 καὶ ἔθετο ἐν φυλακῇ Cf. Ac. 5. 25 ; 12. 4

15. 21

ὅπως ἐκδικήσει αὐτοὺς κατὰ τὸν νόμον αὐτῶν	Jo. 18. 31 κατὰ τὸν νόμον ὑμῶν κρίνατε αὐτὸν

2 Maccabees

1. 4

διανοίξαι τὴν καρδίαν	Lk. 24. 45 διήνοιξεν αὐτῶν τὸν νοῦν Ac. 16. 14 ἧς ὁ Κύριος διήνοιξε τὴν κ.

6. 1

ἀπὸ τῶν πατρίων νόμων	Ac. 22. 3 τοῦ πατρῴου νόμου

6. 12

λογίζεσθαι δὲ τὰς τιμωρίας μὴ πρὸς ὄλεθρον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς παιδίαν	Cf. He. 12. 6 εἰς παιδείαν ὑπομένετε· 1 Co. 11. 32 κρινόμενοι δὲ ὑπὸ Κυρίου παιδευόμεθα

7. 14

σοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἀνάστασις εἰς ζωὴν οὐκ ἔσται	Jo. 5. 29 οἱ . . . εἰς ἀνάστασιν ζωῆς

7. 28

ὅτι οὐκ ἐξ ὄντων ἐποίησεν αὐτὰ ὁ Θεός	He. 11. 3 Θεοῦ, εἰς τὸ μὴ ἐκ φαινομένων τὸ βλεπόμενον γεγονέναι Ro. 4. 17 καλοῦντος τὰ μὴ ὄντα ὡς ὄντα

7. 29

μὴ φοβηθῇς τὸν δήμιον τοῦτον	Mt. 10. 28 μὴ φοβηθῆτε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποκτεινόντων τὸ σῶμα

7. 35

οὔπω . . . Θεοῦ κρίσιν ἐκπέφευγας	Ro. 2. 3 ὅτι σὺ ἐκφεύξῃ τὸ κρῖμα τοῦ Θ.

8. 18	
ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ τὸν ὅλον κόσμον	1 Jo. 2. 2 ἡμετέρων . . . καὶ περὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου
8. 33	
τὸν ἄξιον τῆς δυσσεβείας ἐκομίσατο μισθόν	Ro. 1. 27 καὶ τὴν ἀντιμισθίαν ἣν ἔδει τῆς πλάνης αὐτῶν . . ἀπολαμβάνοντες Lk. 23. 41 ἄξια γὰρ ὧν ἐπράξαμεν ἀπολαμβάνομεν Ac. 1. 18 ἐκ μισθοῦ ἀδικίας 2 Pe. 2. 12, 15 μισθὸν ἀδικίας
9. 7	
πῦρ πνέων τοῖς θυμοῖς	Ac. 9. 1 ἐμπνέων ἀπειλῆς
10. 6	
ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν καὶ ἐν τοῖς σπηλαίοις θηρίων τρόπον ἦσαν νεμόμενοι	He. 11. 37 περιῆλθον . . . ἐν αἰγείοις δέρμασιν . . . ὄρεσι . . . σπηλαίοις
11. 6	
τὸν Κύριον ἀγαθὸν ἄγγελον ἀποστεῖλαι	Ac. 12. 11 ἐξαπέστειλε Κ. τ. ἄ. αὐτοῦ
15. 22 ἀπέστειλας τὸν ἄγγελόν σου	
11. 16	
ἐπιστολαὶ . . . περιέχουσαι τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον	Ac. 23. 25 ἐπιστολὴν περιέχουσαν τὸν τύπον τοῦτον
14. 35	
Κύριε, τῶν ὅλων ἀπροσδεὴς ὑπάρχων	Ac. 17. 24 Κύριος ὑπάρχων . . . οὐδὲ . . . προσδεόμενός τινος

3 Maccabees

1. 29	
καὶ τὰ τείχη καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἔδαφος ἠχεῖν	Lk. 19. 40 stones would cry out
2. 3	
σὺ γὰρ εἶ ὁ κτίσας τὰ πάντα	Rev. 4. 11 ὅτι σὺ ἔκτισας τὰ πάντα. Cf. Eph. 3. 9; Col. 1. 16
2. 20	
ποιήσας ἡμῖν εἰρήνην	Eph. 2. 15 ποιῶν εἰρήνην
3. 5	
τῇ δὲ τῶν δικαίων εὐπραξίᾳ κοσμοῦντες τὴν συναναστροφήν	Same idea in 1 Pe. 3. 4, 5

JUDITH

13. 18	
εὐλογητὴ σὺ . . . παρὰ πάσας τὰς γυναῖκας	Lk. 1. 42 εὐλογημένη σὺ ἐν γυναιξί

PSALMS OF SOLOMON

13. 11	
ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς ὁσίους τὸ ἔλεος Κυρίου	Lk. 1. 50 τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ . . . τοῖς φοβουμένοις αὐτόν

ENOCH

Here appears the difficulty caused by the absence of a Greek original. The following are the more probable among the passages noted by Dr. Charles :

ST. MATTHEW	ENOCH
12. 36 every idle word . . . they shall give account in the day of judgement	97. 6 all the words of your unrighteousness shall be read out before the great Holy One.
13. 42 shall cast them into the furnace of fire	98. 3 shall be cast into the furnace of fire
19. 27 inherit eternal life	40. 9 inherit eternal life
22. 30 as angels in heaven	104. 4 as the angels of heaven
25. 41 prepared for the devil and his angels	54. 4 chains . . . prepared for the hosts of Azazel
ST. LUKE	
1. 52 He hath put down princes from their thrones	46. 4 put down the Kings from their seats
18. 7 shall not God avenge His elect which cry to Him day and night	47. 2 the prayer of the righteous . . . that judgement may be done unto them
21. 28 your redemption draweth nigh	51. 2 the day has drawn nigh that they should be saved
ST. JOHN	
5. 22 He hath given all judgement unto the Son	69. 27 the sum of judgement was given unto the Son of Man

1 Co.	
6. 11 justified in the name of the Lord Jesus	Enoch 48. 7 for in His name they are saved
Ga.	
1. 4 this present evil world	48. 7 this world of unrighteousness
Eph.	
1. 9 according to His good pleasure	49. 4 according to His good pleasure
5. 8 children of light Cf. Lk. 16. 8; Jo. 12. 36; 1 Th. 5. 5	108. 11 the generation of light
Ph.	
4. 3 the book of life	47. 3 the books of the living
Col.	
2. 3 in whom are all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge hidden	46. 3 who revealeth all the treasures of that which is hidden
1 Thess.	
5. 3 then sudden destruction cometh upon them as travail upon a woman with child	62. 4 then shall pain come upon them as on a woman in travail
1 Tim.	
1. 9 law is not made for a righteous man but for the lawless	93. 4 a law shall be made for the sinners
1. 15; 4. 9 worthy of all acceptation	94. 1 worthy of acceptation
6. 16 dwelling in light unapproachable whom no man hath seen nor can see	14. 21 none of the angels could enter and behold His face by reason of the magnificence and glory, and no flesh could behold Him; the flaming fire was round about Him
Hebrews	
4. 13 all things are naked and laid open before the eyes of Him	9. 5 all things are naked and open in Thy sight

Acts	Enoch
4. 12 Name . . . wherein we must be saved	48. 7 in His Name they are saved 49. 3 through His Name shall they be saved
10. 4 thy prayers . . . are gone up for a memorial before God	99. 3 raise your prayers as a memorial . . . before the Most High
1 John	
2. 8 the darkness is passing away and the true light already shineth	58. 5 it has become bright as the sun . . . and the darkness is past
2. 15 love not the world neither the things that are in the world	108. 8 loved . . . nor any of the good things that are in the world
Jude	
4 denying our only Master and Lord Jesus Christ	48. 10 denied the Lord of Spirits and His Anointed
6 the angels which . . . left their proper habitation . . . under darkness	12. 4 the Watchers . . . who left the high heaven; 10. 5 cover him with darkness; 18. 15 stars which roll over the fire
13 wandering stars	

When we come to the Apocalypse of St. John we naturally find many things in common with Enoch. The following may be selected from Dr. Charles' edition:

Revelation	Enoch
2. 7 To him that overcometh, to him will I give to eat of the tree of life	25. 4 the fragrant tree . . . for food to the elect
3. 5 (and elsewhere) arrayed in white garments	Cf. 71. 1; 90. 31
3. 10 (and elsewhere) them that dwell on the earth	37. 5 (and elsewhere)
3. 17 I am rich and have gotten riches	97. 8 we have become rich with riches
3. 20 I will come in to him and will sup with him	62. 14 and with that Son of Man shall they eat

Revelation	Enoch
4. 6 round about the throne four living creatures	40. 2 on the four sides of the Lord of Spirits I saw four presences
4. 8 they have no rest day and night, saying, Holy, Holy, Holy, is the Lord God	39. 12 who sleep not . . . saying, Holy, Holy, Holy, is the Lord of Spirits
5. 8 the four living creatures offer . . . the prayers of the Saints	40. 6 the third [presence] . . . I heard . . . intercede for them that dwell on the Earth
6. 15 (fear of great ones at) the face of Him that sitteth on the throne	62. 3-5 kings . . . terrified . . . when they see that Son of Man sitting on the throne of His glory
8. 3 (angel offers the prayers of the Saints)	9. 1-11 ; 15. 2 ; 40. 6 ; 47. 2 ; 99. 3 (intercession of the Angels)
12. 10 the accuser of our brethren is cast down	40. 7 forbidding them . . . to accuse them that dwell on earth
13. 14 deceiveth them that dwell on the earth	54. 6 leading astray those who dwell on the earth (67. 7)
14. 10 (worshippers of the beast) shall be tormented with fire and brimstone in the presence of the holy angels and in the presence of the Lamb	48. 9 shall they burn before the face of the holy . . . sink before the face of the righteous
14. 13 Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord	81. 4 Blessed is the man who dies in righteousness
14. 20 blood . . . unto the bridles of the horses	100. 3 horse shall walk up to the breast in the blood of sinners
20. 10, 15 cast into the lake of fire	90. 26 cast into this fiery abyss, 10. 13 ; 90. 24 ; 54. 6
20. 12 and books were opened and . . . the book of life	90. 20 took the sealed books and opened those books
	47. 3 the books of the living were opened

Revelation	Enoch
20. 13 death and Hades gave up the dead which were in them	51. 1 in those days shall the earth also give back that which has been entrusted to it, and Sheol also shall give back that which it has received
21. 1 a new heaven and a new earth, for the first heaven . . . passed away	91. 16 the first heaven . . . shall pass away and a new heaven shall appear
21. 3 He shall dwell with them	45. 4 I will cause mine Elect One to dwell among them

To these may be added the following, which are not noted by Dr. Charles:

4. 11 Thou didst create all things, and because of Thy will they were, and were created	9. 5 Thou hast made all things and power over all things hast Thou
9. 20 repented not of the works of their hands	50. 2 that they may repent and forego the works of their hands
12. 8 neither was their place found any more in heaven	14. 5 from henceforth ye shall not ascend into heaven
14. 4 which were not defiled with women	12. 4 have defiled themselves with women
20. 2 he laid hold on the dragon . . . and bound him for 1000 years and cast him into the abyss	88. 1 he seized that first star which had fallen from heaven and bound it . . . and cast it into an abyss 21. 6 bound here till 10,000 years
21. 19 jasper . . . sapphire . . . jacinth . . . gates of pearl	18. 7 mountains of . . . pearl, jacinth, red stone, sapphire

Also these from other parts of the New Testament:

Mt. 18. 10 that in heaven their angels do always behold the face of My Father	104. 1 that in heaven the angels remember you for good before the glory of the Great One
Mt. 19. 28; 25. 31 the throne of His Glory	9. 4 the throne of Thy glory Cf. 62. 2, 5

Revelation	Enoch
Mt. 24. 12 iniquity shall be multiplied	91. 5 violence must increase
Lk. 10. 20 your names are written in heaven	104. 1 your names are written before the glory of the Great One
He. 12. 23 enrolled in heaven	108. 7 some of them are written and inscribed above in the heaven
Jo. 3. 36 the wrath of God abideth on him	62. 12 the wrath of the Lord of Spirits resteth upon them
Jo. 14. 1 let not your heart be troubled	92. 2 let not your spirit be troubled
Ro. 1. 21 they glorified Him not as God neither gave thanks	46. 5 because they do not extol and praise Him nor humbly acknowledge
Ro. 3. 20 shall no flesh be justified in His sight	81. 5 that no flesh is righteous in the sight of the Lord
Ga. 5. 22 fruit of the Spirit (love, joy) peace longsuffering kindness goodness faithfulness (meekness, temperance)	61. 11 in the spirit of faith (wisdom) patience mercy (judgement) peace goodness

The Secrets of Enoch

1. 5	
their faces shone like the sun, 1. 8 ; 20. 2 ; 21. 3, etc.	Cf. Rev. 1. 16 countenance was as the sun shineth
be of good cheer, be not afraid	Mt. 14. 27 Be of good cheer ; it is I ; be not afraid.
7. 1	
darkness . . . prisoners . . . watched . . . awaiting . . . judgement	2 Pe. 2. 4 angels . . . to pits of darkness to be reserved unto judgement ; Ju. 6 angels . . . kept in everlasting bonds under darkness unto the judgement.

8. 1	
(Paradise in the third heaven)	As in 2 Co. 12. 2, 4.
9. 1 (cf. 42. 6-8)	
this place is prepared for the righteous	Mt. 25. 34 the Kingdom prepared for you
who give bread to the hungering, cover the naked with clothing	Mt. 25. 35-9 an hungred and ye gave me meat . . . naked and ye clothed me.
16. 1	
twelve great gates	Rev. 21. 12 having twelve gates
19. 4	
(angels of rivers, sea, etc.)	Rev. 16. 5 angel of the waters
24. 2	
visible things from invisible	Heb. 11. 3 what is seen hath not been made out of things which do appear
24. 3	
not to my angels have I told my secret	1 Pe. 1. 12 which things angels desire to look into
29. 5	
flying in the air continuously	Eph. 2. 2 prince of the power of the air
49. 1	
I swear not by any oath, neither by heaven nor by earth, nor by any other creature which God created.	Mt. 5. 34, 35 swear not at all, neither by the heaven . . . earth . . . Jerusalem . . . head . . .
2. I swear unto you, yea, yea. A measure fixed how much it is intended that a man be tried in this world	1 Co. 10. 13 There hath no temptation taken you but such as man can bear: but God . . . will not suffer you to be tempted above that ye are able
50. 3	
endure for the sake of the Lord every wound, every injury, every evil word and attack	2 Ti. 4. 5 suffer hardship Heb. 10. 32 ye endured Jas. 1. 12 Blessed is the man that endureth temptation 1 Pe. 2. 19 acceptable, if . . . a man endureth griefs.

52. 11	
blessed is he who establishes peace	Mt. 5. 9 Blessed are the peacemakers.
53. 1	
do not say, "our father is standing before God"	Mt. 3. 9 think not to say . . . Abraham to our father
61. 2	
many mansions prepared	Jo. 14. 2 many mansions
65. 7	
then all time shall perish	Rev. 10. 6 time no longer
66. 6	
walk, my children, in long-suffering, in meekness, honesty . . . faith . . . truth	2 Pe. 1. 4 faith . . . virtue . . . knowledge . . . temperance . . . patience . . . godliness . . . love 3 Jo. 3 as thou walkest in truth

Book of Jubilees

10. 3	
sons of perdition	2 Th. 2. 3 son of perdition
10. 8	
chief of the spirits	Mk. 3. 22 chief of the daemons
19. 9	
he was found faithful and was recorded on the heavenly tablets as the friend of God	Jas. 2. 23 and he was called the friend of God
23. 23	
sinners of the Gentiles	Ga. 2. 15 sinners of the Gentiles
32. 25	
I will bring all things to thy remembrance	Jo. 14. 26 the Holy Spirit . . . bring to your remembrance all that I said

Life of Adam and Eve

20. 1	
righteousness with which I had been clothed upon	2 Co. 5. 2 clothed upon with our habitation Cf. Is. 61. 10
33. 2	
gazed steadfastly into heaven	Ac. 7. 55 looked up stedfastly into heaven.

37. 5

Lift him up . . . unto the third heaven . . . until that fearful day of My reckoning

2 Co. 12. 2 caught up even to the third heaven

42. 6

from his members didst Thou make me

1 Co. 11. 12 the woman is of the man

Assumption of Moses

1. 6

a man approved of the Lord

Ac. 2. 22 a man approved of God; Ro. 16. 10 Apelles the approved in Christ; 2 Ti. 2. 15 approved unto God

1. 14

mediator of His covenant

Ga. 3. 19 [covenant] by the hand of a mediator; He. 8. 6 mediator of a better covenant; 9. 15 mediator of a new covenant; 12. 24 mediator of a new covenant

7. 4

self-pleasers . . . lovers of banquets at every hour of the day, gluttons, gourmands

2 Pe. 2. 10-13 self-willed . . . mere animals . . . count it pleasure to revel in the daytime . . .

7. 6

devourers of the goods of the poor

Mt. 23. 14; Mk. 12. 40; Lk. 20. 47 devour widows' houses

7. 7

filled with lawlessness and iniquity

Mt. 23. 25 full from extortion and excess

8. 1

such as has not befallen them from the beginning until that time

Mt. 24. 21 such as hath not been from the beginning of the world; Rev. 16. 18 such as was not since there were men upon the earth

Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs

Reuben

3. 12

ἕως οὗ ἔπραξα τὸ βδέλυγμα — Rev. 21. 27 ὁ ποιῶν βδέλυγμα

4. 1

ἐν ἁπλότητι καρδίας — Col. 3. 22 ; Eph. 6. 5
T. Sim. 4. 5 ; T. Levi 13. 1 ; T. Iss. 4. 1 ; 7. 7 ; Wis. 1. 1

4. 8

εὗρεν χάριν ἐνώπιον Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων — Lk. 2. 52 καὶ χάριτι παρὰ Θεῷ καὶ ἀνθ.

5. 5

εἰς κόλασιν αἰώνιον τετήρηται — Ju. 6 εἰς κρίσιν . . . τετήρηκεν
T. Gad 7. 5 — 2 Pe. 2. 4 εἰς κρίσιν τηρουμένους
Mt. 25. 46 οὗτοι εἰς κόλασιν αἰώνιον

6. 1 (T. Sim. 5. 3 ; T. Judah 18. 2)

φυλάξετε οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς πορνείας — Ac. 21. 25 φυλάσσεσθαι . . . πορνείαν
(Cf. Tobit 4. 12) — 1 Th. 4. 3 ἀπέχεσθαι ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς π.

6. 9

καὶ ἀγάπην ἔχειν ἕκαστος πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ — 1 Jo. 4. 21 ἀγαπᾷ καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ

Simeon

2. 7

ἐτύφλωσέ μου τὸν νοῦν — 2 Co. 4. 4 ἐτύφλωσε τὰ νοήματα

2. 13

ἵνα ἀποκατασταθῇ ἡ χείρ μου — Lk. 6. 10 καὶ ἀποκατεστάθη ἡ χεὶρ αὐτοῦ

4. 6

ἠγάπησεν ἡμᾶς ὡς τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ — Eph. 5.28 ἀγαπᾷν τὰς ἑαυτῶν γυναῖκας ὡς τὰ ἑαυτῶν σώματα

6. 1

ἰδοὺ εἴρηκα ὑμῖν πάντα — Mk. 13. 23 ἰδού, προείρηκα ὑμῖν πάντα

ὅπως δικαιωθῶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἁμαρτίας ὑμῶν — Ro. 6. 7 δεδικαίωται ἀπὸ τῆς ἁμ.

SIMEON

7. 1 (T. Dan 5. 10)
τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ Θεοῦ — Lk. 3. 6 ; Ac. 28. 28

LEVI

2. 4
ηὐξάμην τῷ Κυρίῳ ὅπως σωθῶ — Jas. 5. 16 εὔχεσθε . . . ὅπως ἰαθῆτε

3. 3α
οἱ ταχθέντες εἰς ἡμέραν κρίσεως — Mt. 10. 15 ; 11. 22, 24 ; 12. 36 ; 2 Pe. 2. 9

ποιῆσαι ἐκδίκησιν τοῖς πνεύμασι τῆς πλάνης — 1 Jo. 4. 6 τὸ π. τῆς πλάνης

3. 5α
οἱ λειτουργοῦντες . . . πρὸς Κύριον — Ac. 12. 2 λειτουργούντων δὲ . . . τῷ Κυρίῳ

3. 6α
προσφέροντες τῷ Κυρίῳ ὀσμὴν εὐωδίας λογικὴν καὶ ἀναίμακτον θυσίαν — Ro. 12. 1 παραστῆσαι . . . θυσίαν ζῶσαν . . . τὴν λογικὴν λατρείαν ὑμῶν
Eph. 5. 2 προσφορὰν καὶ θυσίαν τῷ Θεῷ εἰς ὀσμὴν εὐωδίας

4. 1
πετρῶν σχιζομένων καὶ τοῦ ἡλίου σβεννυμένου καὶ ὑδάτων ξηραινομένων καὶ τοῦ πυρὸς καταπτήσσοντος καὶ πάσης τῆς κτίσεως κλονουμένης καὶ τῶν ἀοράτων πνευμάτων τηκομένων καὶ τοῦ ᾅδου σκυλευομένου — Cf. Mt. 24. 29 ; 27. 51

ἐπιμενοῦσι ταῖς ἀδικίαις — Ro. 6. 1 ἐπιμένωμεν τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ

6. 2
καὶ συνετήρουν τοὺς λόγους τούτους ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ μου — Lk. 2. 19 πάντα συνετήρει τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα . . . ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῆς

8. 5
ἔλουσέ με ὕδατι καθαρῷ — He. 10. 22 λελουμένοι . . . ὕδατι καθαρῷ

9. 6
νόμον Κυρίου — Lk. 2. 23, 24, 39 ἐν νόμῳ Κυρίου

LEVI

10. 1

ὅσα ἐγὼ ἤκουσα παρὰ τῶν πατέρων μου — Jo. 15. 15 πάντα ἃ ἤκουσα παρὰ τοῦ πατρός μου

10. 2

ἐπὶ τῇ συντελείᾳ τῶν αἰώνων — He. 9. 26 ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τῶν αἰώνων

10. 3

σχισθήσεται τὸ καταπέτασμα τοῦ ναοῦ — Mt. 27. 51 τὸ κ. τοῦ ναοῦ ἐσχίσθη

13. 6

καὶ σπείρατε ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑμῶν ἀγαθὰ καὶ εὑρήσετε αὐτὰ ἐν τῇ ζωῇ ὑμῶν.
ἐὰν δὲ σπείρητε πονηρὰ πᾶσαν ταραχὴν καὶ θλῖψιν θερίσετε. — Ga. 6. 7 ὃ γὰρ ἐὰν σπείρῃ ἄνθρωπος τοῦτο καὶ θερίσει. 8. ὅτι ὁ σπείρων εἰς τὴν σάρκα ἑαυτοῦ ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς θερίσει φθόραν· ὁ δὲ σπείρων εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος θερίσει ζωὴν αἰώνιον

13. 9

πᾶς ὃς ἂν διδάσκει καλὰ καὶ πράττει ... shall be enthroned — Mt. 5. 19 ὃς δ' ἂν ποιήσῃ καὶ διδάξῃ οὗτος μέγας

14. 4

τὸ φῶς τοῦ νόμου τὸ δοθὲν εἰς φωτισμὸν παντὸς ἀνθρώπου — Jo. 1. 9 τὸ φῶς τὸ ἀληθινόν, ὃ φωτίζει πάντα ἄνθρωπον

15. 1

ὁ ναὸς ... ἔρημος ἔσται — Mt. 23. 38 ἀφίεται ὑμῖν ὁ οἶκος ὑμῶν ἔρημος

16. 2

καὶ τὸν νόμον ἀθετήσετε — Mk. 7. 9 καλῶς ἀθετεῖτε τὴν ἐντολὴν
He. 10. 28 ἀθετήσας τις νόμον

18. 6

οἱ οὐρανοὶ ἀνοιγήσονται καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς δόξης ἥξει ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἁγίασμα μετὰ φωνῆς πατρικῆς (cf. 2. 6) — Mt. 3. 16 ἀνεῴχθησαν αὐτῷ οἱ οὐρανοί ... φωνὴ ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν
Mk. 1. 10 σχιζομένους τοὺς οὐρανούς ... καὶ φωνὴ ἐγένετο ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν

LEVI

18. 12	
καὶ δώσει ἐξουσίαν τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτοῦ πατεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ πονηρὰ πνεύματα	Lk. 10. 19 δέδωκα ὑμῖν τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ πατεῖν . . . ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ ἐχθροῦ
19. 1	
ἐκλέξασθε ἑαυτοῖς ἢ τὸ φῶς ἢ τὸ σκότος, ἢ τὸν νόμον Κυρίου ἢ τὰ ἔργα τοῦ Βελίαρ.	2 Co. 6. 14 τίς κοινωνία φωτὶ πρὸς σκότος; τίς δὲ συμφώνησις Χριστοῦ πρὸς Βελίαρ;

JUDAH

9. 7	
τότε οὖν αἰτοῦσιν ἡμῖν τὰ πρὸς εἰρήνην	Lk. 14. 32 ἐρωτᾷ τὰ πρὸς εἰρήνην (TWH) Lk. 19. 42 τὰ π. εἰ.
13. 7	
καὶ παρέβην ἐντολὴν Κυρίου	Mt. 15. 3 παραβαίνετε τὴν ἐντολὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ
14. 8	
ἀλλὰ καυχᾶσθαι τῇ ἀτιμίᾳ	Ph. 3. 19 ἡ δόξα ἐν τῇ αἰσχύνῃ αὐτῶν
18. 3	
καὶ οὐκ ἀφίει ἄνδρα ἐλεῆσαι τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ	Mk. 7. 12 οὐκέτι ἀφίετε αὐτὸν οὐδὲν ποιῆσαι τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ
20. 1, 5	
τὸ [πνεῦμα] τῆς ἀληθείας	Jo. 15. 26 τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας
24. 1	
καὶ πᾶσα ἁμαρτία οὐχ εὑρεθήσεται ἐν αὐτῷ	1 Pe. 2. 22 ὃς ἁμαρτίαν οὐκ ἐποίησεν οὐδὲ εὑρέθη δόλος ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ
24. 2	
καὶ ἀνοιγήσονται ἐπ' αὐτῷ οἱ οὐρανοὶ	Lk. 3. 21 ἀνεῳχθῆναι τὸν οὐρανόν
25. 3	
ὅτι ἐμβληθήσεται ἐν πυρὶ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα	Mt. 18. 8 βληθῆναι εἰς τὸ πῦρ τὸ αἰώνιον

JUDAH

25. 4

καὶ οἱ ἐν λύπῃ τελευτήσαντες ἀναστήσονται ἐν χαρᾷ
καὶ οἱ ἀποθνήσκοντες διὰ Κύριον ἐξυπνισθήσονται εἰς ζωήν

Cf. 1 Co. 15. 42 ff.

Rev. 14. 13 οἱ ἐν Κυρίῳ ἀποθνήσκοντες

ISSACHAR

7. 1β

ἁμαρτίαν εἰς θάνατον

1 Jo. 5. 16 ἔστιν ἁμαρτία πρὸς θάνατον

ZABULON

3. 3

ὅτι τιμή ἐστιν αἵματος

Mt. 27. 6 ἐπεὶ τιμὴ αἵματός ἐστι

6. 5

εἰ δὲ ἦν ξένος ἢ νοσῶν ἢ γηράσας
(7. 1 ἐν γυμνότητι)
κατὰ τὴν ἑκάστου χρείαν

Mt. 25. 35 ξένος . . . γύμνος . . . ἠσθένησα

Ac. 4. 35 καθότι ἄν τις χρείαν εἶχεν

6. 6

ὁ γὰρ μεταδιδοὺς τῷ πλησίον λαμβάνει πολλαπλασίονα παρὰ Κυρίου

Mt. 19. 29 πᾶς ὃς ἀφῆκεν . . . πολλαπλασίονα (RVM) λήψεται

7. 2

ἀδιακρίτως πάντας σπλαγχνιζόμενοι ἐλεᾶτε καὶ παρέχετε παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ
ἐν ἀγαθῇ καρδίᾳ

Ju. 22 οὓς μὲν ἐλεᾶτε [μὴ] διακρινόμενοι

Lk. 8. 15 ἐν καρδίᾳ καλῇ καὶ ἀγαθῇ

7. 3 (8. 2)

ἐν σπλάγχνοις ἐλέους

Lk. 1. 78 διὰ σπλάγχνα ἐλέους

8. 5

καὶ μὴ λογίζεσθε ἕκαστος κακίαν πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ

1 Co. 13. 5 οὐ λογίζεται τὸ κακόν

8. 6a

τὸ πρόσωπον ἀφανίζει

Mt. 6. 16 ἀφανίζουσι γὰρ τὰ π. αὐτῶν

ZABULON

10. 2

οἵτινες φυλάξουσιν νόμον	Ac. 21. 24 τὸν νόμον φυλάσσων Ga. 6. 13 οὐδὲ . . . νόμον φυλάσσουσιν

10. 3

ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς ἐπάξει Κύριος πῦρ αἰώνιον καὶ ἀπολεῖ αὐτοὺς ἕως γενεὰς γενεῶν	2 Pe. 2. 5 κατακλυσμὸν κόσμῳ ἀσεβῶν ἐπάξας Ju. 7 πυρὸς αἰωνίου δίκην ὑπέχουσαι

DAN

5. 5

καὶ ἐν πάσῃ πονηρίᾳ ἐνεργούντων	Ro. 1. 29 πεπληρωμένους πάσῃ . . . πονηρίᾳ
ἐν ὑμῖν τῶν πνευμάτων τῆς πονηρίας	Eph. 6. 12 τὰ πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας

6. 2

ὅτι οὗτός ἐστι μεσίτης Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων	1 Ti. 2. 5 εἷς καὶ μεσίτης Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων

6. 8

διατηρήσατε οὖν ἑαυτοὺς τέκνα μου ἀπὸ παντὸς ἔργου πονηροῦ	Jo. 17. 15 ἀλλ' ἵνα τηρήσῃς αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ
καὶ ἀπορρίψατε ἀφ' ὑμῶν τὸν θυμὸν καὶ τὸ ψεῦδος	1 Th. 5. 22 ἀπὸ παντὸς εἴδους π. ἀπέχεσθε 2 Ti. 4. 18 ῥύσεταί με ὁ Κύριος ἀπὸ παντὸς ἔργου πονηροῦ Eph. 4. 25 ἀποθέμενοι τὸ ψεῦδος . . . Eph. 4. 31 θυμὸς . . .

NAPHTALI

2. 10

οὐδὲ ἐν σκότει ὄντες δύνασθε ποιεῖν ἔργα φωτός	1 Th. 5. 4 οὐκ ἐστὲ ἐν σκότει Ro. 13. 12; Eph. 5. 11 works of darkness Eph. 5. 9 fruits of light.

3. 1

ἐν λόγοις κενοῖς ἀπαταν τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῶν	Eph. 5. 6 μηδεὶς ὑμᾶς ἀπατάτω κενοῖς λόγοις

GAD

4. 3

ἐὰν γὰρ πέσῃ ὁ ἀδελφός — Ga. 6. 1 ἐὰν καὶ προληφθῇ ἄνθρωπος ἔν τινι παραπτώματι

5. 7

ἡ γὰρ κατὰ Θεὸν ἀληθὴς μετάνοια — 2 Co. 7. 10 ἡ γὰρ κατὰ Θεὸν λύπη μετάνοιαν εἰς σωτηρίαν

6. 3

ἀγαπήσατε ἀλλήλους ἀπὸ καρδίας — Jo. 13. 34 (alibi) ἀγαπᾶτε ἀλλήλους

7. 7 ἀ. ἀ. ἐν εὐθύτητι καρδίας Cf. Zab. 8. 5 — 1 Pe. 1. 22 ἐκ καθαρᾶς καρδίας ἀλλήλους ἀγαπήσατε (ASM.)

6. 7

καὶ οὕτως ἄφες αὐτῷ ἀπὸ καρδίας καὶ δὸς τῷ Θεῷ τὴν ἐκδίκησιν — Mt. 18. 35 ἐὰν μὴ ἀφῆτε . . . ἀπὸ τῶν καρδιῶν ὑμῶν. Cf. Ro. 12. 19

7. 1

οὕτως γάρ ἐστιν ὑμῖν συμφέρον — 2 Co. 8. 10 τοῦτο γὰρ ὑμῖν συμφέρει

8. 1

ἀνατελεῖ ὑμῖν Κ. σωτηρίαν τῷ Ἰ. — Lk. 1. 69 Κ. ὁ Θ. τοῦ Ἰ. ἤγειρε κέρας σωτηρίας ἡμῖν

ASHER

2. 6

ὁ πλεονεκτῶν τὸν πλησίον — 1 Th. 4. 6 καὶ πλεονεκτεῖν . . . τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ

JOSEPH

2. 3

καὶ ἔδωκέ με ὁ Κύριος εἰς οἰκτιρμοὺς ἐνώπιον . . . — 2 Ti. 1. 18 δῴη αὐτῷ ὁ Κύριος εὑρεῖν ἔλεος παρὰ . . .

4. 6

οὐχὶ ἐν ἀκαθαρσίᾳ θέλει Κύριος τοὺς σεβομένους αὐτόν . . . ἀλλὰ . . . καθαρᾷ . . . ἀμιάντοις — 1 Th. 4. 7 οὐ γὰρ ἐκάλεσεν ἡμᾶς ὁ Θ. ἐπὶ ἀκαθαρσίᾳ ἀλλ' ἐν ἁγιασμῷ

14. 5

οὐκ ἐστὶ τοῦτο τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις πρὸ ἀποδείξεως ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τὰ ἀλλότρια — Ac. 25. 16 ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἔθος Ῥωμαίοις χαρίζεσθαί τινα ἄνθρωπον πρὶν . . .

17. 8

ἀλλ' ἤμην ἐν αὐτοῖς ὡς εἷς τῶν ἐλαχίστων — Lk. 22. 27 ἐγὼ δὲ ἐν μέσῳ ὑμῶν εἰμι ὡς ὁ διακονῶν

BENJAMIN

1. 4	
καὶ προσηύξατο πρὸς Κύριον μετὰ νηστείας	Ac. 14. 23 προσευξάμενοι μετὰ νηστειῶν. Cf. 13. 2
6. 4	
οὐ δέχεται δόξης . . . ἀνθρώπων	Jo. 5. 41 δόξαν παρὰ ἀνθρώπων οὐ λαμβάνω
καὶ χαῖρει πρὸς πάντας ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ	Ph. 4. 4 χαίρετε ἐν Κυρίῳ πάντοτε 1 Th. 5. 16 πάντοτε χαίρετε
6. 5	
δύο γλώσσας εὐλογίας καὶ κατάρας	Jas. 3. 10 ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ στόματος ἐξέρχεται εὐλογία καὶ κατάρα
11. 4	
ἐν βίβλοις ἁγίαις ἔσται ἀναγραφόμενος	Rev. 13. 8 οὗ οἱ γέγραπται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τῆς ζωῆς Rev. 20. 15 εἴ τις οὐχ εὑρέθη ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ τῆς ζωῆς γεγραμμένος Rev. 21. 27 εἰ μὴ οἱ γεγραμμένοι ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ ἀρνίου Rev. 22. 19 γεγραμμένων ἐν τῷ β. τούτῳ
11. 5	
αὐτὸς ἀναπληρώσει τὰ ὑστερήματα τῆς φυλῆς σου	2 Co. 11. 9 τὸ γὰρ ὑστέρημά μου προσανεπλήρωσαν Ph. 2. 30 ἵνα ἀναπληρώσῃ τὸ ὑμῶν ὑστ. Col. 1. 24 ἀνταναπληρῶ τὰ ὑστερήματα

APPENDIX IV

NEW TESTAMENT REFERENCES

THE already quoted parallels are here shown under the heads of the New Testament books, in order to show the amount used by individual writers, and the Apocryphal books probably most used.

St. Matthew	
2. 20	Sir. 51. 5
2. 22	1 Macc. 11. 40
3. 9	Sec. En. 53. 1
*3. 16	T. Levi 2. 6
„	T. Levi 18. 6
„	T. Jud. 24. 2
4. 5	1 Macc. 2. 7
5. 6	Wis. 1. 1
5. 9	Sec. En. 52. 11
5. 14	Sir. 32. 16
5. 16	Tob. 5. 17
5. 19	T. Levi 13. 9
*5. 28	T. Ben. 8. 2
5. 28	Sir. 9. 8
5. 34 ff.	Sir. 23. 9
„	Sec. En. 49. 1
5. 42	Tob. 4. 7
„	Sir. 4. 5
6. 1	Sir. 3. 14 ; 7. 10
6. 4	Tob. 4. 14

St. Matthew	
6. 6	Tob. 4. 14
6. 7	Sir. 7. 14
6. 11	1 Macc. 3. 60
6. 14	Sir. 28. 2
6. 16	T. Zab. 8. 6
6. 17	Sir. 35. 11
6. 18	Tob. 4. 14
6. 20	Sir. 29. 11
6. 24	Sir. 2. 1
6. 33	1 Macc. 2. 29
„	Wis. 1. 1
„	Sir. 27. 8
7. 7	Sir. 27. 8
7. 12	Tob. 4. 15
7. 16	Sir. 19. 29
9. 8	1 Macc. 1. 13
9. 15	1 Macc. 9. 39
10. 15	T. Levi 3. 3a
10. 16	Sir. 13. 17
10. 28	2 Macc. 7. 29

* From quotation list.

St. Matthew	
10. 37	Wis. 3. 5
11. 22	T. Levi 3. 3
11. 23	A. and E. 48. 3
11. 24	T. Levi 3. 3
11. 25	Tob. 10. 13
11. 28	Sir. 24. 19
11. 29	Sir. 51. 26
„	Sir. 6. 28
11. 30	Sir. 40. 1
12. 5	1 Macc. 1. 45
12. 32	Wis. 13. 9; 14. 6
12. 34	Sir. 27. 6
12. 36	T. Levi 3. 3a
12. 36	En. 97. 6
13. 5	Wis. 4. 3
13. 11	Wis. 2. 22
13. 41	En. 100. 4
13. 42	En. 98. 3
14. 3	1 Macc. 14. 3
14. 27	Sec. En. 1. 8
14. 43	Wis. 3. 1, 7
15. 3	T. Jud. 13. 7
15. 18	Sir. 27. 6
16. 17	Sir. 14. 18; 17. 31
16. 18	Wis. 16. 13; 3 Macc. 5. 51
16. 22	1 Macc. 2. 21
16. 24	1 Macc. 2. 27
16. 27	Sir. 11. 26
* „	Sir. 32. 24
17. 5	1 Macc. 2. 65
17. 21	T. Jos. 4. 8
18. 8	T. Jud. 25. 3
18. 10	En. 104. 1
18. 21 ff.	Sir. 28. 1 ff.
18. 26 ff.	Sir. 29. 5, 8
18. 35	T. Gad 6. 7
„	Sir. 28. 2

St. Matthew	
19. 28	En. 9. 4
* „	En. 62. 5, etc.
„	Wis. 9. 10
„	1 Macc. 7. 4
19. 29	T. Zab. 6. 6
20. 2	Tob. 5. 15
20. 28	1 Macc. 2. 50
21. 10	Sir. 13. 29
22. 25	Tob. 7. 11
22. 29	Wis. 7. 25
22. 30	En. 104. 4
22. 37	T. Dan 5. 3
23. 14	Ass. Mo. 7. 6
23. 20 ff.	Sir. 23. 9
23. 23	Sir. 35. 1 ff.
23. 25	Ass. Mo. 7. 5
„	Sir. 19. 26
23. 27	Sir. 19. 26
23. 38	T. Levi 15. 1
24. 4	Sir. 13. 8
24. 5	Sir. 34. 7
24. 11	Sir. 34. 7
24. 12	En. 91. 5
24. 21	Ass. Mo. 8. 1
24. 29	T. Levi 3. 9–4. 1
24. 31	Wis. 3. 9; 4. 15
25. 10	1 Macc. 9. 39
25. 31	En. 9. 4
„	1 Macc. 7. 4
„	Wis. 9. 10
* „	En. 62. 5, etc.
25. 33	T. Ben. 10. 6
25. 34	Sec. En. 9. 1
*25. 35	T. Jos. 1. 6, 7
„	T. Zab. 6. 5; 7. 1
„	Sec. En. 9. 1
„	Tob. 4. 16
25. 36	Tob. 1. 16-18
„	Sir. 7. 35

* From quotation list.

St. Matthew

25. 41	En. 54. 4
25. 46	T. Reu. 5. 5; T. Gad 7. 5
*26. 18	1 Macc. 7. 37
*26. 24	En. 38. 2
*26. 70	T. Jos. 13. 2
27. 6	T. Zab. 3. 3
27. 39	Sir. 13. 7
27. 43	1 Macc. 4. 10
27. 51	T. Levi 10. 3
,,	T. Levi 3. 9; 4. 1
27. 53	2 Macc. 9. 14
28. 5	Tob. 12. 17
28. 10	Tob. 12. 17
*28. 20	T. Ben. 11. 3

Total 132. 10*

St. Mark

1. 10	T. Levi 18. 6; T. Jud. 24. 2
3. 22	Jub. 10. 8
4. 11	Wis. 2. 22
4. 41	Sir. 13. 29
* ,,	1 Macc. 10. 8
6. 36	1 Macc. 3. 25
7. 9	T. Levi 14. 4; 16. 2
7. 12	T. Jud. 18. 3
7. 21	Sir. 27. 6
8. 34	1 Macc. 2. 27
9. 7	Wis. 19. 7
,,	1 Macc. 2. 65
*9. 49	T. Levi 9. 14
10. 6	Wis. 6. 22
*10. 19	Sir. 4. 1
10. 20	Wis. 8. 2
10. 45	1 Macc. 2. 50
12. 20	Tob. 7. 11
12. 24	Wis. 7. 25
12. 40	Ass. Mo. 7. 6

St. Mark

13. 6	Sir. 34. 7
13. 19	Wis. 6. 22
13. 23	T. Sim. 6. 1
13. 25	T. Levi 3. 9–4. 1
13. 27	1 Macc. 14. 10
*14. 62	En. 62. 5, etc.
15. 29	Sir. 13. 8
15. 34	1 Macc. 3. 54

Total 28. 4*

St. Luke

*1. 6	T. Jud. 23. 5
*1. 17	Sir. 48. 10
1. 19	Tob. 12. 15; En. 61. 10
,,	Sec. En. 20. 1; T. Levi 3. 7
1. 28	Sir. 18. 17
1. 32	Sir. 4. 11
1. 42	Judith 13. 18
1. 46	Sir. 39. 15
,,	Wis. 15. 11
1. 47	1 Macc. 4. 30
1. 50	Pss. Sol. 13. 11
*1. 52	Sir. 10. 14
,,	Sir. 7. 11
,,	En. 46. 4
1. 66	Wis. 3. 1
1. 68	Tob. 13. 18
1. 69	T. Gad 8. 1
1. 70	Sir. 44. 2
,,	Wis. 11. 1
1. 72	1 Macc. 1. 15
1. 75	Wis. 9. 3
1. 78	T. Zab. 7. 3; 8. 2
2. 1	1 Macc. 1. 11
*2. 9	1 Macc. 10. 8
2. 19	T. Levi 6. 2
2. 23	T. Levi 9. 6

* From quotation list.

St. Luke	
2. 29	Sir. 23. 1
*2. 32	En. 48. 4
2. 37	T. Jos. 4. 8
2. 39	T. Levi 9. 6
2. 46	Sir. 6. 34
2. 52	T. Reu. 4. 8
3. 6	T. Sim. 7. 1 ; T. Dan 5. 10
3. 13	1 Macc. 10. 35
3. 21	T. Levi 18. 6
,,	T. Jud. 24. 2
5. 4	1 Macc. 2. 23
5. 8	1 Macc. 2. 62
6. 10	T. Sim. 2. 13
6. 31	Tob. 4. 15
6. 35	Wis. 15. 1
,,	Sir. 4. 11 ; 22. 21
6. 45	Sir. 27. 6
7. 30	Wis. 6. 4
7. 35	Sir. 4. 11
8. 6	Wis. 4. 3
8. 10	Wis. 2. 22
8. 13	Wis. 4. 3
8. 15	T. Zab. 7. 2
8. 25	Sir. 13. 29
8. 28	1 Es. 6. 31
8. 31	Sir. 1. 3 ; 42. 18
9. 12	1 Macc. 3. 25
9. 23	1 Macc. 2. 27
9. 35	En. 40. 5
,,	1 Macc. 2. 65
9. 47	Sir. 13. 25
10. 19	T. Levi 18. 12
10. 20	En. 104. 1
10. 21	Tob. 10. 13
10. 27	T. Dan 5. 3
10. 29	Sir. 7. 5
11. 39	Sir. 19. 26
11. 41	Tob. 4. 7

St. Luke	
12. 5	Sir. 9. 13
12. 16	Sir. 11. 19 ; 31. 3
12. 18 ff.	Sir. 31. 3
12. 19	Tob. 7. 10
12. 20	Wis. 15. 8
12. 33	Tob. 4. 7
13. 28	T. Ben. 10. 6
14. 7	Sir. 13. 9
14. 27	1 Macc. 2. 27
14. 31	1 Macc. 4. 29
14. 32	T. Jud. 9. 7
15. 20	Tob. 7. 6 ; 11. 14
15. 24	Tob. 7. 14
*16. 2	T. Jos. 13. 1
16. 3	Sir. 40. 28
16. 8	En. 108. 11
16. 13	Sir. 2. 1
*17. 3	T. Gad 6. 3
17. 33	Sir. 51. 5
18. 7	En. 47. 2
,,	Wis. 3. 9 ; 4. 15
18. 21	Wis. 8. 2
19. 7	1 Macc. 2. 62
19. 40	3 Macc. 1. 29
19. 42	T. Jud. 9. 7
20. 29	Tob. 7. 11
20. 47	Ass. Mo. 7. 6
21. 4	Sir. 4. 1
21. 8	Sir. 13. 8
21. 23	1 Macc. 1. 64
21. 26	T. Levi 3. 9–4. 1
21. 28	En. 51. 2
22. 25	2 Macc. 4. 2
*22. 26	T. Naph. 3. 4
22. 27	T. Jos. 17. 8
22. 69	Wis. 7. 25
23. 29	Wis. 3. 13
23. 35	En. 40. 5
23. 41	2 Macc. 8. 33

* From quotation list.

ST. LUKE

24. 36	Tob. 12. 17
24. 37	Tob. 12. 19
24. 45	2 Macc. 1. 4

Total 105. 8*

ST. JOHN

1. 1	Sir. 1. 1
1. 9	Wis. 18. 4
„	T. Levi 14. 4
1. 13	Tob. 12. 18
3. 3	Wis. 19. 6
3. 29	1 Macc. 9. 39
3. 36	En. 62. 12
4. 13	Sir. 24. 21
4. 27	Sir 9. 8
4. 42	Wis. 16. 7
5. 18	1 Macc. 9. 32
5. 22	En. 69. 27
5. 29	2 Macc. 7. 14
5. 41	T. Ben. 6. 4
6. 31-35	Wis. 16. 20
6. 35	Sir. 24. 21
7. 35	2 Macc. 1. 27
9. 4	Sir. 51. 30
10. 11	Sir. 18. 13
10. 18	Wis. 16. 13
11. 48	2 Macc. 3. 2, etc.
12. 36	En. 108. 11
13. 34	T. Gad 6. 3 ; 7. 7
„	T. Zab. 8. 5
14. 1	En. 92. 2
14. 2	Sec. En. 61. 2
14. 12	1 Macc. 6. 27
14. 26	Jub. 32. 25
15. 1	Sir. 24. 17
15. 15	T. Levi 10. 1
15. 26	T. Jud. 20. 1, 5
„	Wis. 9. 17

ST. JOHN

16. 5	Tob. 12. 20
17. 3	Wis. 15. 3
17. 15	T. Dan 6. 8
18. 1	1 Macc. 5. 37
18. 31	1 Macc. 15. 21
19. 10	Wis. 16. 13
19. 11	Wis. 19. 6
20. 19, 21, 26	Tob. 12. 17

Total 40

ACTS

1. 8	1 Macc. 3. 9
1. 18	2 Macc. 8. 33
1. 25	1 Macc. 11. 38
2. 22	Ass. Mo. 1. 6
2. 39	Sir. 24. 32
3. 13	Tob. 8. 5 ; T. Dan 1. 9
3. 14	En. 53. 6
3. 21	Wis. 11. 1
4. 12	En. 48. 7 ; 49. 3
4. 24	Sir. 34. 29 ; 36. 1
4. 35	T. Zab 6. 5
5. 21	Judith 4. 8, etc.
„	2 Macc. 1. 10, etc.
5. 25	1 Macc. 14. 3
5. 30	Tob. 8. 5 ; T. Dan 1. 9
5. 37	Sir. 47. 1
5. 39	2 Macc. 7. 19
6. 13	2 Macc. 3. 2, etc.
7.	Sir. 44
7. 2	En. 25. 7, etc.
7. 16	T. Reu. 7. 2
„	Jub. 46. 9
7. 23, 30	Jub. 47. 10-12 ; 48. 1

* From quotation list.

Acts	
7. 32	Tob. 8. 5 ; T. Dan 1. 9
7. 53	Jub. 1. 27
7. 55	A. and E. 33. 2
8. 2	1 Macc. 2. 70 ; 13. 26
9. 1	2 Macc. 9. 7
9. 15	1 Macc. 2. 9
9. 28	1 Macc. 3. 45
10. 4	Tob. 12. 12
„	En. 99. 3
10. 33	1 Macc. 12. 18, 22
11. 21	Wis. 3. 1
12. 2	T. Levi 3. 5
12. 4	1 Macc. 14. 3
12. 11	2 Macc. 11. 6; 15. 22
13.	T. Naph. 3. 4
13. 3	T. Jos. 4. 8
13. 10	Sir. 1. 40 ; 19. 26
13. 11	Wis. 3. 1
13. 26	1 Macc. 12. 21
13. 47	1 Macc. 3. 9
14. 23	T. Ben. 1. 4
15. 3	1 Macc. 12. 4
15. 10	Sir. 40. 1
15. 33	Tob. 12. 20
16. 14	2 Macc. 1. 4
16. 17	1 Es. 6. 31
17.	T. Naph. 3. 4
17. 22-31	Wis. 13. 1
17. 24	2 Macc. 14. 35
19. 28	Wis. 11. 18
20. 19	Sir. 2. 1
20. 38	1 Macc. 12. 4
21. 5	1 Macc. 12. 4
21. 20	1 Macc. 2. 26
21. 24	T. Zab. 10. 2

Acts	
21. 25	T. Reu. 6. 1; T. Sim. 5. 3
„	T. Jud. 18. 2 ; Tob. 4. 12
21. 28	2 Macc. 3. 2, etc.
21. 31	1 Macc. 9. 32
22. 3	2 Macc. 6. 1
22. 28	Sir. 51. 28
23. 6	Wis. 3. 4
23. 25	1 Macc. 13. 35
„	2 Macc. 11. 16
25. 16	T. Jos. 14. 5
26. 4	Wis. 8. 2
26. 18	Wis. 5. 5
26. 29	Sir. 29. 23
28. 4	Wis. 14. 31
28. 28	T. Sim. 7. 1; T. Dan 5. 10
	Total 73

Romans	
1. 16	Wis. 7. 25
1. 19-32	Wis. 11. 13-15 and ch. 13–15
1. 21	En. 46. 5
1. 23	Wis. 12. 24
1. 24	Sir. 5. 2
1. 27	2 Macc. 8. 33
1. 29	T. Dan. 5. 5
„	Wis. 14. 25
*1. 32	T. Asher 6. 2
2. 3	2 Macc. 7. 35
2. 4	Wis. 15. 1 ; 11. 23
2. 5	T. Levi 15. 2
2. 6	Sir. 16. 12, 14
„	Sir. 11. 26
*2. 11	1 Es. 4. 39
3. 20	En. 81. 5

* From quotation list.

ROMANS

4. 17	Wis. 11. 25
„	2 Macc. 7. 28
*5. 12	Wis. 2. 24
5. 15	Wis. 10. 1
6. 1	T. Levi 4. 1
6. 7	T. Sim. 6. 1
*7. 7	T. Iss. 7. 1
7. 14	Wis. 1. 4
„	1 Macc. 1. 15
8. 2	Sir. 45. 5
8. 22	Wis. 19. 6
8. 38	En. 61. 10
„	Sec. En. 20. 1
„	T. Levi 3. 7
9. 5	En. 77. 1
„	Sir. 36. 1
*9. 19	Wis. 12. 12
*9. 21	Wis. 15. 17
9. 22	1 Macc. 2. 9
9. 31	Wis. 2. 11
10. 7	Sir. 1. 3 ; 42. 18
11. 2	Wis. 8. 21
11. 16	1 Macc. 1. 10
11. 25	Wis. 2. 22
11. 33	Wis. 2. 13
„	Sir. 1. 3 ; 16. 20
12. 1	T. Levi 3. 6
*12. 9	T. Ben. 8. 1
12. 11	Sir. 2. 1
12. 15	Sir. 7. 34
12. 19	T. Gad 6. 7
*12. 21	T. Ben. 4. 3
13. 1	Wis. 6. 3, 4
13. 10	Wis. 6. 18
13. 12	T. Naph. 2. 10
13. 14	Sir. 18. 30
14. 5	Sir. 33. 7
15. 4	1 Macc. 12. 9
15. 24	1 Macc. 12. 4

ROMANS

15. 33	T. Dan 5. 2
16. 1	Wis. 7. 14
„	1 Macc. 12. 43
16. 10	Ass. Mo. 1. 6
16. 18	Sir. 2. 1
16. 20	T. Dan 5. 2
16. 26	Sir. 36. 22 ; En. 9. 4

Total 62. 8 *

1 CORINTHIANS

1. 18, 24	Wis. 7. 25
1. 30	Sir. 1. 1
2. 3	Judith 15. 2
2. 8	En. 22. 14, etc.
*2. 9	Rev. Elias
2. 9	Sir. 1. 10
2. 11, 16	Judith 8. 14
3. 10	Sir. 10. 3
3. 19	Wis. 9. 6
6. 2	Wis. 3. 8
„	Sir. 4. 15
6. 3	En. 13. 10
6. 11	En. 48. 7
6. 12	Sir. 37. 28
*7. 5	T. Naph. 8. 8
7. 36	Sir. 42. 9
7. 37	1 Macc. 12. 18, 22
10. 13	Sec. En. 49. 2
10. 14	Sir. 21. 2
10. 23	Sir. 37. 28
11. 12	A. and E. 42. 6
11. 32	2 Macc. 6. 12
13. 2	Wis. 2. 22
13. 5	T. Zab. 8. 5
14. 33	T. Dan 5. 2
15. 29	2 Macc. 12. 44
15. 33	Sir. 13. 1
15. 42	T. Jud. 25. 4

* From quotation list.

1 Corinthians

15. 45	Wis. 15. 11
15. 50	Sir. 14. 18 ; 17. 31
*15. 51	T. Ben. 10. 8
16. 2	Tob. 4. 8
16. 6	1 Macc. 12. 4
16. 11	1 Macc. 12. 4

Total 33. 3 *

2 Corinthians

1. 16	1 Macc. 12. 4
2. 7	Sir. 8. 5
4. 4	Wis. 7. 26
„	T. Sim. 1. 7
5. 1 ff.	Wis. 9. 15
5. 2	A. and E. 20. 1
6. 14	T. Levi 19. 1
„	Sir. 13. 3 ; 25. 8
„	1 Macc. 1. 15
*6. 16	T. Jud. 25. 3
6. 18	3 Macc. 6. 2
* „	Jub. 1. 2
7. 1	Sir. 38. 10
7. 10	Sir. 4. 21 ; 38. 18
„	T. Gad 5. 7
„	Sir. 38. 18
7. 15	Judith 15. 2
8. 10	T. Gad 7. 1
8. 12	Tob. 4. 8
9. 7	Tob. 4. 7
10. 5	Wis. 2. 13
10. 18	Wis. 7. 14
„	1 Macc. 12. 43
11. 9	T. Ben. 11. 5
11. 15	Wis. 3. 19
11. 27	Sec. En. 66. 6
11. 31	En. 77. 1
12. 2	A. and E. 37. 5

2 Corinthians

12. 2	Sec. En. 8. 1
13. 11	T. Dan 5. 2

Total 30. 2 *

Galatians

1. 4	En. 48. 7
1. 16	Sir. 14. 18 ; 17. 31
2. 6	Sir. 35. 16
2. 15	1 Macc. 1. 34
„	Jub. 23. 23
*3. 8	Sir. 44. 21
3. 19	Ass. Mo. 1. 14
„	Jub. 1. 27
„	Wis. 11. 1
4. 3, 9	Wis. 19. 18 ff.
4. 4	Wis. 9. 10
4. 6	Wis. 9. 10
4. 9	Wis. 19. 6
5. 19	Wis. 14. 25
5. 22	En. 61. 11
6. 1	T. Gad 4. 3
6. 7	T. Gad 5. 10
„	Wis. 16. 9 ; 2 Macc. 13. 8
„	T. Levi 13. 6
6. 10	Tob. 4. 8
6. 13	T. Zab. 10. 2

Total 15. 1 *

Ephesians

*1. 5	T. Ben. 11. 2
1. 9	En. 49. 4
1. 17	Wis. 7. 7
1. 21	En. 61. 10
„	Sec. En. 20. 1
„	T. Levi 3. 7
2. 2	Sec. En. 29. 5
2. 12	Wis. 3. 18

* From quotation list.

EPHESIANS

2. 15	3 Macc. 2. 20
2. 22	Sir. 10. 3
3. 9	3 Macc. 2. 3
3. 10	En. 61. 10
*4. 20	T. Naph. 3. 4
4. 24	Wis. 9. 3
4. 25	T. Dan 6. 8
,,	T. Reu. 6. 9
4. 29	Sir. 21. 16
4. 30	Tob. 4. 3
4. 31	T. Dan 6. 8
5. 2	T. Levi 3. 6
5. 6-12	T. Naph. 2. 9–3. 3
5. 8	En. 108. 11
5. 9, 11	T. Naph. 2. 10
*5. 14	Rev. Elias
5. 15	Tob. 4. 14
*5. 18	T. Jud. 14. 1
,,	Tob. 4. 15
5. 28	T. Sim. 4. 6
6. 5	Judith 15. 2
,,	T. Reu. 4. 1
,,	T. Sim. 4. 5
,,	T. Iss. 4. 1; 7. 7
,,	Wis. 1. 1
*6. 9	1 Es. 4. 39
*6. 11	Wis. 5. 17
6. 12	T. Dan 5. 5
6. 19	Wis. 2. 22

Total 30. 6 *

PHILIPPIANS

1. 11	Wis. 15. 19
*1. 28	Wis. 18. 7
2. 3	Sir. 3. 18
2. 12	Judith 15. 2
2. 30	T. Ben. 11. 5
3. 19	Wis. 3. 19
,,	T. Jud. 14. 8

PHILIPPIANS

4. 3	En. 47. 3
4. 4	T. Ben. 6. 4
4. 9	T. Dan 5. 2
4. 14	1 Macc. 12. 18, 22

Total 11. 1 *

COLOSSIANS

1. 16	T. Levi 3. 8
,,	3 Macc. 2. 3
1. 17	Sir. 43. 26
1. 24	Wis. 19. 4
,,	T. Ben. 11. 5
2. 3	En. 46. 3
2. 8, 20	Wis. 19. 18 ff.
3. 2	Wis. 1. 1
3. 22	T. Reu. 4. 1
,,	T. Sim. 4. 5
,,	T. Iss. 4. 1; 7. 7
,,	Wis. 1. 1
3. 25	T. Gad 5. 10; Wis. 16. 9
,,	2 Macc. 13. 8

Total 8

1 THESSALONIANS

1. 9	Sir. 2. 1
*2. 16	T. Levi 6. 11
2. 19	Sir. 1. 11, 18; T. Levi 8. 2
3. 13	Sir. 6. 37
4. 3	T. Reu. 6. 1
,,	T. Sim. 5. 3
,,	T. Jud. 18. 2
,,	Tob. 4. 12
4. 6	T. Asher 2. 6
4. 7	T. Jos. 4. 6
4. 13	Wis. 3. 18
5. 3	Wis. 17. 15

* From quotation list.

1 Thessalonians

5. 3	En. 62. 4
5. 4	T. Naph. 2. 10
5. 5	En. 108. 11
*5. 8	Wis. 5. 17
5. 16	T. Ben. 6. 4
5. 22	T. Dan 6. 8
5. 23	Wis. 15. 8, 11
„	T. Dan 5. 2

Total 15. 2 *

2 Thessalonians

2. 3	Jub. 10. 3

1 Timothy

1. 1	3 Macc. 6. 29
1. 2	Wis. 3. 9; 4. 15
1. 9	Wis. 14. 25
„	En. 93. 4
*1. 13	T. Jud. 19. 3
1. 15	En. 94. 1
1. 17	Tob. 13. 6; En. 12. 3
2. 3	1 Macc. 4. 30
„	3 Macc. 6. 29
„	Sir. 51. 1
2. 5	T. Dan 6. 2
4. 4	Sir. 39. 16
4. 9	En. 94. 1
4. 10	Wis. 16. 7
5. 5	Sir. 2. 6
5. 22	Wis. 10. 5
6. 6	Tob. 4. 21
6. 9	Sir. 27. 1
6. 15	En. 9. 4; 84. 2
6. 16	Wis. 8. 13
„	En. 14. 21
6. 19	Tob. 4. 9

Total 20. 1 *

2 Timothy

1. 2	Wis. 3. 9; 4. 15
1. 3	Sir. 51. 1
1. 18	T. Jos. 2. 3
2. 5	Wis. 4. 2
2. 10	Wis. 10. 14
„	1 Macc. 2. 51
2. 15	Ass. Mo. 1. 6
*2. 19	T. Dan 6. 10
2. 21	1 Macc. 2. 9
2. 22	Sir. 21. 2
3. 8	lost book
3. 15	1 Macc. 12. 9
4. 5	Sec. En. 50. 3
4. 8	T. Levi 8. 2
„	2 Macc. 12. 6, 41
„	Pss. Sol. 2. 18
„	Sir. 1. 11, 18
4. 14	Sir. 11. 26; 16. 12, 14
4. 18	T. Dan 6. 8

Total 19. 1 *

Titus

2. 13	Tob. 3. 16
3. 13	1 Macc. 12. 4

Philemon

11	Sir. 16. 1

Hebrews

1. 3	Wis. 7. 26
4. 12	Wis. 18. 15
4. 13	En. 9. 5
5. 12	Wis. 19. 8 and 18 ff.
7. 1	Tob. 1. 13
8. 1	1 Macc. 7. 4
8. 6	Ass. Mo. 1. 14
9. 15	Ass. Mo. 1. 14
9. 21	Wis. 18. 21

* From quotation list.

HEBREWS

9. 26	T. Levi 10. 2
9. 27	Sir. 14. 17
10. 22	T. Levi 8. 5
10. 28	T. Levi 16. 2
10. 32	Sec. En. 50. 3
11.	Sir. 44
„	1 Macc. 2. 49 ff.
11. 3	Wis. 13. 7
„	2 Macc. 7. 28
„	Sec. En. 24. 2
11. 10	Wis. 13. 1
11. 23	1 Macc. 2. 18
11. 35, 36	2 Macc. 6. 19; 7. 7
11. 37	Mar. Is.
„	2 Macc. 10. 6
12. 6	2 Macc. 6. 12
*12. 12	Sir. 25. 23
12. 17	Wis. 12. 10
12. 23	En. 108. 7
12. 24	Ass. Mo. 1. 14
12. 26	T. Levi 3. 9–4. 1
13. 15	Sir. 35. 4
13. 20	Sir. 17. 12; 44. 18; 45. 7, 19
„	T. Dan 5. 2

Total 33. 1 *

ST. JAMES

1. 1	2 Macc. 1. 27
1. 2-4	Sir. 2. 1
1. 5	Wis. 8. 21–9. 18
„	Sir. 1. 1; 41. 22
1. 6	Sir. 33. 2
1. 12	Sir. 1. 11, 18; T. Levi 8. 2
„	Wis. 5. 16
„	Sec. En. 50. 3
1. 12-15	Sir. 2. 1

ST. JAMES

1. 17	Wis. 19. 6
„	Tob. 4. 19
1. 19	Sir. 5. 11
1. 24	Sir. 34. 3
*1. 26	Wis. 4. 11
1. 27	Wis. 10. 5
„	Sir. 7. 35
2. 6	Wis. 2. 10
2. 8	1 Macc. 12. 18, 22
2. 19	1 Macc. 12. 18, 22
2. 23	Wis. 7. 27
„	Jub. 19. 9
3. 1-12	Sir. 23. 7-15
3. 2	Sir. 1. 29; 14. 1
3. 4	En. 101. 4
3. 5-8	Sir. 8. 3
3. 10	Sir. 28. 12
„	T. Ben. 6. 5
3. 15	Wis. 19. 6
3. 17	Sir. 1. 1
*4. 7	T. Naph. 8. 4
4. 8	Sir. 38. 10
* „	T. Dan 6. 2
*4. 15	Sir. 39. 6
5. 1-6	En. 94. 8-11, etc.
5. 3	Sir. 29. 10
5. 16	T. Levi 2. 4
5. 17	Sir. 48. 3

Total 30. 4 *

1 ST. PETER

1. 1	2 Macc. 1. 27
1. 10	1 Macc. 9. 26
1. 12	Sec. En. 24. 3
1. 17	Sir. 16. 12, 14
*1. 22	T. Gad 6. 3
„	T. Gad 7. 7
„	T. Zab. 8. 5
1. 24	Sir. 14. 18

* From quotation list.

1 St. Peter

*2. 3	Tob. 8. 16
,,	Wis. 15. 1
2. 5	Sir. 10. 3
2. 19	Sec. En. 50. 3
2. 22	T. Jud. 24. 1
2. 25	Sir. 18. 13
3. 4	3 Macc. 3. 5
3. 17	1 Macc. 3. 59
3. 19	En. 18. 14
3. 20	Wis. 11. 5
3. 22	En. 61. 10
,,	Sec. En. 20. 1
,,	T. Levi 3. 7
5. 4	Sir. 1. 11, 18
,,	T. Levi 8. 2
5. 5	Sir. 3. 18
5. 10	Wis. 10. 14
,,	1 Macc. 2. 51

Total 26. 2*

2 St. Peter

1. 4	Sec. En. 66. 6
1. 18	Wis. 9. 8
1. 19	1 Macc. 12. 18, 22
2.	Wis. 10.
2. 4	T. Reu. 5. 5
,,	T. Gad 7. 5
,,	Sec. En. 7. 1
,,	En. 20. 2
,,	En. 21. 10
2. 5	Wis. 14. 7
,,	T. Zab. 10. 3
,,	Jub. 7. 20-39
2. 7	Wis. 10. 6
2. 9	Sir. 33. 1
,,	T. Levi 3. 3
2. 12, 15	2 Macc. 8. 33
2. 13	Ass. Mo. 7. 4

2 St. Peter

3. 2	Wis. 11. 1
3. 4	Wis. 6. 22
,,	1 Macc. 9. 29
3. 7	Wis. 10. 6
*3. 8	Jub. 4. 30
*3. 9	Sir. 35. 22
,,	Wis. 11. 23
3 10, 12	Wis. 19. 18 ff.
3. 13	En. 45. 4 ; 72. 1 ; 91. 16
3. 18	Sir. 1. 2 ; 18. 10

Total 27. 2*

1 St. John

1. 7, 9	Sir. 38. 10
2. 2	2 Macc. 8. 18
2. 8	En. 58. 5
2. 15	En. 108. 8
3. 21	Sir. 14. 2
4. 6	T. Levi 3. 3
4. 21	T. Reu. 6. 9
5. 16	T. Iss. 7. 1

Total 8

2 St. John

3.	Wis. 3. 9 ; 4. 15

3 St. John

3.	Tob. 1. 3
,,	Sec. En. 66. 6
6.	1 Macc. 12. 4, 18, 22

St. Jude

4	2 Macc. 15. 22
,,	3 Macc. 6. 5
,,	En. 48. 10
6	T. Reu. 5. 5
,,	T. Gad 7. 5

* From quotation list.

ST. JUDE

6	En. 12. 4; 10. 5
„	Sec. En. 7. 1
7	T. Zab. 10. 3
9	Ass. Mo.
13	En. 18. 15
*14	En. 1. 9
*16	Ass. Mo. 7. 4, 9; 5. 5
22	T. Zab. 7. 2
25	Pss. Sol. 8. 39

Total 9. 2 *

REVELATION

1. 8	3 Macc. 6. 2
1. 14-17	En. 71. 10; 14. 20, 24
1. 16	Sec. En. 1. 5
1. 18	Sir. 18. 1
2. 7	En. 25. 4
2. 10	Sir. 1. 11, 18; T. Levi 8. 2
2. 23	Sir. 16. 12, 14
3. 5	En. 71. 1; 90. 31
3. 10	En. 37. 5
3. 12	T. Dan 5. 12
3. 17	En. 97. 8
3. 20	En. 62. 14
4. 6	En. 40. 2
4. 8	En. 39. 12
4. 11	3 Macc. 2. 3
„	En. 9. 5
5. 8	En. 40. 6
5. 12	T. Sim. 4. 5
*6. 9	1 Macc. 6. 22
6. 10	Wis. 8. 3; 13. 3
6. 15	En. 62. 3
7. 12	T. Sim. 4. 5
8. 2	Tob. 12. 15
„	En. 61. 10

REVELATION

8. 2	Sec. En. 20. 1
„	T. Levi 3. 7
8. 3	En. 9. 1-11, etc.
8. 4	Wis. 18. 21
9. 1	Sir. 1. 3; 42. 18
* „	En. 86. 1
9. 2	T. Levi 3. 9–4. 1
9. 14	Sec. En. 19. 4
*9. 20	En. 99. 7
„	En. 50. 2
10. 6	Sec. En. 65. 7
11. 2	3 Macc. 6. 5
11. 13	Tob. 7. 18
„	Judith 5. 8
„	T. Reu. 1. 6
11. 15	Wis. 3. 8
12. 8	En. 14. 5
12. 10	En. 40. 7
13. 8	T. Ben. 11. 4
13. 14	En. 54. 6; 67. 7
14. 4	En. 12. 4
14. 10	En. 48. 9
14. 13	Sir. 14. 19; 22. 11; 30. 17
„	T. Jud. 25. 4
„	En. 81. 4
14. 20	En. 100. 3
15. 3	T. Reu. 6. 12
„	En. 25. 5
16. 5	Sec. En. 19. 4
16. 6	T. Gad 5. 10
„	Wis. 16. 9
„	2 Macc. 13. 8
16. 11	Tob. 7. 18
„	Judith 5. 8
„	T. Reu. 1. 6
16. 18	Ass. Mo. 8. 1
17. 4	1 Macc. 8. 14
17. 14	2 Macc. 13. 14

* From quotation list.

Revelation	
17. 14	En. 9. 4 ; 84. 2
18. 13	Tob. 10. 10
19. 16	En. 9. 4 ; 84. 2
20. 1	Tob. 8. 3
20. 2	En. 88. 1 ; 21. 6
20. 9	Sir. 24. 11
20. 10	En. 90. 26, etc.
20. 12	Sir. 16. 12, 14
,,	En. 9. 20 ; 47. 3
20. 13	Sir. 16. 12, 14
,,	En. 51. 1
20. 15	T. Ben. 11. 4
,,	En. 90. 26, etc.
21. 1	En. 91. 16
21. 2	1 Macc. 2. 7
,,	T. Dan 5. 12
21. 3	En. 45. 4
21. 6	Sir. 31. 27
21. 12	Sec. En. 16. 1
21. 19	En. 18. 7
21. 27	T. Reu. 3. 12
,,	T. Ben. 11. 4
22. 2	T. Levi 18. 11
22. 12	Sir. 11. 26 ; 16. 12 ; Wis. 5. 15
22. 19	2 Macc. 9. 14
,,	T. Ben. 11. 4

Total 67. 3 *

Analysis of References

St. Matthew 132. 10 *

St. Mark 28. 4 *

St. Luke and Acts 178. 8 *

St. Paul 247. 25 *

St. John and Revelation 119. 3 *

St. James 30. 4 *

St. Jude 9. 2 *

St. Peter 53. 4 *

Hebrews 33. 1 *

APPENDIX V

TAMPERING WITH TEXTS

In view of the conclusion of this book that there is a very real influence of non-canonical writings on the text of the New Testament, a very strong caution must be given against a dangerous inference which may be drawn.

It is easy (especially for those who love to proclaim startling novelties) to press this admitted influence to undue and even ridiculous lengths. We must not imagine (as some writers have urged in all but so many words) that the Epistle to the Romans is a sort of Midrash upon the Book of Wisdom, or that the Sermon on the Mount is an abridged version of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. Nor must we expect an exactness of textual dependence which the laxity of those days would make impossible.[1] An example of the latter error can be seen in Dr. Charles' edition of the Assumption of Moses—it would seem that his vast knowledge of the Apocryphal books led him to demand the impossible of them—for he does violence to a simple Latin text in order to force it into conformity with the Vulgate. It is the well-known passage quoted from Joel in our Lord's

[1] Burkitt, *Apocalypses*, p. 48, ". . . the chief danger now is that too strict a standard of consistency and rationality may be exacted from writers to whom consistency and rationality were quite secondary considerations."

Apocalyptic discourse, "The sun shall be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light"; the Apocryphal writer takes several liberties with the Joel text by way of amplifying it in the usual glossing manner, and (with some grammatical blunders on the part of a copyist) we have these words: "Sol non dabit lumen, et in tenebris conuertent se cornua Lunae, et confringentur,[1] et tota conuertit se in sanguine."—This does not suit the editor, who knows that both Joel and St. Matthew say that the sun, not the moon, "shall be darkened."

"The order seems wrong," he says (*Apoc. and Pseud.* vol. ii. p. 422). "The darkening is always connected with the sun, and only with the moon in conjunction with it (refs.); again, 'non dabit lumen' is used only of the moon (refs.); thirdly, 'turned into blood' is only used of the moon (refs.). Thus I ALTER THE TEXT TO — "(et) cornua solis confringentur et in tenebras conuertet se; et luna non dabit lumen, et tota conuertet se in sanguinem." And so, to maintain a purely artificial connexion with other texts, without a shred of MS. evidence, using one argument which does not apply (the thirdly, "turned into blood," *is* found only of the moon in the text before alteration, and therefore is no contention against the text as it stands), he tortures the wording into conformity with his preconceived notion of what it ought to be.[2] So convinced is he that there can be no mistake, that he takes no care to conceal the mishandling, and leaves a glaring impossibility for any one to detect him by. For whatever are we to conceive that he understands by "the horns of the sun"? the curious excrescences of light seen through a telescope at the time of a solar eclipse? Are we to suppose that the author of the

[1] This idea is repeated by Mohammed (Qoran 54. 1)—the moon is to be broken in sunder when the hour arrives. Cf. Burkitt, *op. cit.* 39 n.

[2] Precisely similar is the mishandling of Ps. 13 (14) in the LXX., which has been altered to correspond with Ro. 3. 10-18. Three couplets making *vv.* 13-18 in Ro. are not to be found in the Hebrew.

Assumption knew of any such thing? The horns of the moon, on the contrary, have been known to literature for some millenniums, and in this text may well be a Hebraism for the "horned moon." But the emendation (?) makes nothing but nonsense, and were it from any less known hand would be promptly pointed out as a typical example of the work of a disciple of Scott's Antiquary. There seems no difficulty in giving a perfectly simple and reasonable account of how the text came to its present state, for there is no need to alter anything but the obvious errors of the copyist. The author, like so many of his kind, wanted to elaborate the prophecy, so he brings in the horns as a poetic flourish, conflates two texts about darkness (Joel 2. 10 and 2. 31), and exchanges the phrases about the sun and moon (though this may possibly be the work of the Latin translator to avoid an awkward assonance of "luna" and "lumen"). Not only does this give a natural explanation, but it is further confirmed by the word "tota," which is not in Joel, but is taken from this place by the writer of Revelation when dealing with the same subject (6. 12); busy editors have, of course, tried to excise it in conformity with Joel. It can perhaps be fairly claimed that it is a gloss imported from the Assumption at a later date. But the probability would seem to lie the other way, for it is supported, as is the text of the Assumption against Dr. Charles' changes, by the fact that, just as the Apocryphal writer retouches Joel and makes very free with his words in quoting, so does the Gospel according to St. Matthew (St. Mark sufficiently agrees); Joel says, "Sun and moon darkened, stars shall not shine" (2. 10 and 3. 15 seem to be the texts quoted, not 2. 31); the Evangelist (whether giving our Lord's words with verbal accuracy or not cannot be determined) conflates with two texts from Isaiah (13. 10 and 34. 4), and says, "Sun darkened, moon gives no light, stars fall from Heaven."

APPENDIX VI

ST. JUDE WITH QUOTATION MARKS

The text of this epistle is given in full to show how much it is indebted to previous writers. The connecting portions are largely common form, and the sense depends upon the quotations. Further portions are common to this epistle and 2 Peter.

Ἰούδας Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ δοῦλος ἀδελφὸς δὲ Ἰακώβου τοῖς ἐν Θεῷ Πατρὶ ἠγαπημένοις καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ τετηρημένοις κλητοῖς· ἔλεος ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη καὶ ἀγάπη πληθυνθείη.

Ἀγαπητοί, πᾶσαν σπουδὴν ποιούμενος γράφειν ὑμῖν περὶ τῆς κοινῆς ἡμῶν σωτηρίας ἀνάγκην ἔσχον γράψαι ὑμῖν παρακαλῶν ἐπαγωνίζεσθαι τῇ ἅπαξ παραδοθείσῃ τοῖς ἁγίοις πίστει. παρεισέδυσαν γάρ τινες ἄνθρωποι, οἱ πάλαι προγεγραμμένοι εἰς τοῦτο τὸ κρῖμα, ἀσεβεῖς, τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν χάριν μετατιθέντες εἰς ἀσέλγειαν, καὶ τὸν μόνον δεσπότην καὶ Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἀρνούμενοι.

2 Macc. 15. 3 „ 6
Sir. 22. 1 et alibi.
Enoch 48.

Ὑπομνῆσαι δὲ ὑμᾶς βούλομαι, εἰδότας ἅπαξ πάντα ὅτι ὁ Κύριος λαὸν ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου σώσας, τὸ δεύτερον τοὺς μὴ πιστεύσαντας ἀπώλεσεν. ἀγγέλους τε τοὺς μὴ τηρήσαντας τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀρχήν, ἀλλὰ ἀπολιπόντας τὸ ἴδιον οἰκτήριον, εἰς κρίσιν μεγάλης ἡμέρας δεσμοῖς ἀϊδίοις ὑπὸ ζόφον τετήρηκεν. ὡς Σόδομα καὶ Γόμορρα, καὶ αἱ περὶ αὐτὰς πόλεις, τὸν ὅμοιον τρόπον τούτοις ἐκπορνεύσασαι καὶ ἀπελθοῦσαι ὀπίσω σαρκὸς ἑτέρας, πρόκεινται δεῖγμα, πυρὸς αἰωνίου δίκην ὑπέχουσαι. ὁμοίως μέντοι καὶ οὗτοι ἐνυπνιαζόμενοι σάρκα μὲν μιαίνουσι, κυριότητα[1] δὲ ἀθετοῦσι, δόξας δὲ βλασφημοῦσιν. ὁ

Num. 26. 65
Enoch 12. 4
Enoch 54. 3
T. Reu. 5.
Enoch 22.
Gen. 19. 1
T. Naph. 3
T. Levi 14
T. Zab. 10

[1] *κυριοτήτας* is probably the true reading: it is found in ℵ and goes with *δόξας*—two names of heavenly bodies very common in Apocalyptic, and also used by St. Paul.

APPENDIX VII

WORDS IN COMMON

Words Common to the New Testament and the Apocrypha but not found elsewhere in the Septuagint

(Taken from Moulton & Geden's Concordance)

ἀγαθοποιός, ἄγαμος, ἀγανακτέω, ἀγανάκτησις, ἀγιότης,† ἄγκυρα, ἄγνωστος, ἀγρυπνία, ἀγωνία, ἀγωνίζομαι, ἀδελφότης,† ἀδημονέω, ἀδιαλείπτως, ἀθανασία, ἀθέμιτος, ἄθεσμος, ἀΐδιος, αἰδώς, αἰφνίδιος, ἀκαίρως, ἀκατάγνωστος,† ἀκατάλυτος, ἀκέραιος, ἀκλινής, ἀκρασία, ἀκριβόω, ἀκυρόω, ἀκωλύτως, ἀλαζονία, ἀλλαχόθεν, ἄλυσις, ἀμαθής, ἀμάραντος, ἀμέριμνος, ἀμετάθετος, ἀμίαντος, ἀμοιβή, ἀναγεννάω,† ἀναγκαῖος, ἀνάδειξις, ἀναδέχομαι, ἀναδίδωμι, ἀναζάω,† ἀναζωπυρέω, ἀνάθημα, ἀναιδία, ἀνάκειμαι, ἀνακεφαλαιόομαι, ἀνακλίνω, ἀνάκρισις, ἀναλογία, ἀναλογίζομαι, ἄναλος, ἀναντίρητος, ἀναξίως, ἀνασείω, ἀναστροφή, ἀνατρέφω, ἀνδροφόνος, ἀνέγκλητος, ἀνεξεραύνητος, ἀνευρίσκω, ἀνθρακιά, ἀνόμως, ἀνοχή, ἀνταγωνίζομαι, ἀντιβάλλω, ἄντικρυς, ἀντίλυτρον,† ἀντιπαρέρχομαι,† ἀντίτυπος, ἀντοφθαλμέω, ἀνυπόκριτος,† ἀνυπότακτος, ἀξίως, ἀπασπάζομαι, ἀπαύγασμα, ἀπείθεια, ἀπιστέω, ἀπιστία, ἀπόβλητος, ἀπογίνομαι, ἀπόδειξις, ἀποδέχομαι, ἀποθησαυρίζω, ἀποκυέω, ἀπόλαυσις, ἀπολογία, ἀπομάσσομαι, ἀποστεγάζω, ἀποτελέω, ἀποτομία, ἀποτόμως, ἀποτρέπομαι, ἀποφεύγω, ἀποψύχω, ἀπρόσκοπος,† ἄπταιστος, ἀρκετός, ἁρμός, ἄρρητος, ἀρτύω, ἀρχιποίμην, ἀσέλγεια, ἀσκέω, ἀσμένως, ἄσπιλος, ἀστατέω,† ἀστοχέω, ἀσύμφωνος, ἄτακτος, ἀτάκτως, ἀτενίζω, ἄτερ, ἄτομος, αὐθαίρετος, αὐλέομαι, αὔξησις, αὐστηρός, αὐτόφωρος, ἀφθαρσία, ἄφθαρτος, ἄφιξις, ἀφομοιόομαι, ἀφυπνόω,† ἀχάριστος, ἀχλύς, ἀψευδής, ἄψυχος.

βαΐον,† βασανισμός, βέβαιος, βήρυλλος, βίωσις,† βραβεύω, βρέφος, βυθίζω.

γαλήνη, γαμέω, γνήσιος, γνησίως, γογγυστής,† γυμνάζω, γυμνασία.

δαιμονίζομαι, δαιμονιώδης,† δαπανάω, δεῖνα, δέος, δημιουργός, δημόσιος, διαγίνομαι, διάγνωσις, διακωλύω, διαλαλέω, διαλιμπάνω,†

† Not in classical authors.

διανύω, διαπορέω, διαταράσσομαι, διατροφή, διαυγάζω, διαυγής, διδάσκαλος, διεγείρω, διερμηνεύω,† διετής, διηνεκές, διχάζω, διχοστασία, δοκιμασία, δοκιμή, δυσφημέω, δυσφημία, δῶρημα.

ἔγγυος, ἐγκράτεια, ἐγκρατής, ἑδραῖος, ἐθίζω, ἐθνάρχης,† ἐθνικός, ἔθος, εἴπερ, εἰδωλόθυτος,† εἰλικρινής, εἰλικρινία, εἰστρέχω, ἔκβασις, ἔκδηλος, ἔκδικος, ἔκδοτος, ἐκθαμβέομαι,† ἔκθαμβος, ἐκθαυμάζω, ἔκθετος, ἐκκοπή, ἐκλαλέω, ἐκλανθάνομαι, ἐκλογή, ἐκμάσσω, ἐκπληρόω, ἐκπλήρωσις, ἐκτένεια,† ἐκτενής, ἐκφύω, ἐκχύννομαι,† ἔλλην, ἔμφοβος, ἔμφυτος, ἐνέργεια, ἐνθάδε, ἐνθύμησις, ἐνκακέω, ἐνκεντρίζω, ἔννομος, ἔντευξις, ἐνυβρίζω, ἐξισχύω, ἔξυπνος, ἐπανόρθωσις, ἐπαρκέω, ἐπεισέρχομαι, ἐπερώτημα, ἐπιγίνομαι, ἐπιδέχομαι, ἐπιθανάτιος, ἐπικουρία, ἐπικρίνω, ἐπιλησμονή, ἐπίλυσις, ἐπιλύω, ἐπιορκέω, ἐπιπόθησις,† ἐπίστασις, ἐπισυναγωγή,† ἐπισφαλής, ἐπισχύω, ἐπισωρεύω, ἐπιτιμία, ἐπιτροφή, ἐπίτροπος, ἐπιφωνέω, ἐπιχορηγέω, ἐπιχρίω, ἐποπτεύω, ἐπόπτης, ἐργάτης, ἐριθία, ἐρίφιον, ἐσθής, ἔσθησις, ἔσοπτρον, ἑτερόγλωσσος, εὐάρεστος, εὐδία, εὐεργέτης, εὐθυμέω, εὔθυμος, εὐκαίρως, εὔκοπος, εὐπειθής, εὐσεβέω, εὐσεβῶς, εὐσχημοσύνη, εὐφημία, εὔφημος, εὐχαριστέω, εὐχαριστία, ἔχιδνα.

ζεστός, ζόφος.

ἦθος, ἠμιθανής, ἤρεμος.

θεομάχος,† θεριστής, θρησκεία, θύινος.

ἱεροπρεπής, ἱεροσυλέω, ἱερόσυλος, ἱερουργέω.

καθάπτω, καίτοι, καταβολή, καταδίκη, καταλαλιά,† καταξιόομαι, καταπονέω, καταρτισμός,† κατασείω, καταστέλλω, κατάστημα, κατατομή,† καταχράομαι, κατέρχομαι, κατευλογέω,† κατιόομαι,† κενοδοξία, κερδαίνω, κέρδος, κλισία, κοίμησις, κοινόω, κολυμβάω, κορέννυμαι, κράββατος,† κτήτωρ, κτίσμα, κυλισμός,† κυριακός,† κῶμος.

λῆρος.

μάλιστα, μάμμη, μάρμαρος, μαρτύρομαι, μεθερμηνεύομαι, μέμφομαι, μεστόομαι, μεταβαίνω, μετάθεσις, μεταλαμβάνω, μεταμορφόομαι, μετασχηματίζω, μετατρέπω, μετέπειτα, μηνύω, μιασμός,† μονή, μονόομαι, μορφόομαι, μυέομαι, μῦθος, μυκάομαι, μωρία.

ναύτης, νεωτερικός, νόημα, νόθος, νομίζω, νομοθεσία, νοσέω, νουθεσία, νυμφών,† νύσσω.

ξενία, ξενίζω, ξέστης.†

ὁδοιπορία, οἰκτήριον, ὀλίγως, ὁμοιοπαθής, ὁμολογουμένως, ὅμως, ὀνίναμαι, ὁπλίζομαι, ὀρέγομαι, ὄρεξις, οὐδαμῶς, οὐρανόθεν, οὐσία, ὀχετός, ὀχλέομαι, ὀψάριον, ὄψώνιον.

† Not in classical authors.

παντελής, πάντῃ, πάντοτε, παραβάτης, παράδοξος, παραινέω, παράκειμαι, παράκλητος, παρακολουθέω, παραμυθέομαι, παραμυθία, παραμύθιον, παραπλησίως, παράσημος, παρατήρησις, παρεκτός,† παρηγορία, πέλαγος, περιάπτω, περιαστράπτω,† περιεργάζομαι, περίθεσις,† περίκειμαι, περικρατής,† πέριξ, περιρήγνυμι, περισσότερος, περιτρέπω, περιφρονέω, περίψημα,† πήρα, πινακίδιον, πίναξ, πλέγμα, πλεονέκτης, πλήκτης, πλόος, ποιητής, πολιτεία, πολίτευμα, πολιτεύομαι, πολυτρόπως, πορθέω, πορισμός, πόρνος, ποταπός, πρασιά, πρεσβεία, πρεσβυτέριον, πρεσβῦτις, πρηνής, προγίνομαι, προγινώσκω, πρόγνωσις,† πρόγονος, πρόδηλος, προδότης, προερῶ, προθεσμία, προθυμία, προκαλέομαι, προκοπή, προκόπτω, προλαμβάνω, προπάτωρ, προπέμπω, προσαναπληρόω, προσαπειλέομαι, προσηλόω, πρόσκαιρος, προσκλίνομαι, προσρήγνυμι,† προσφιλής, προτείνω, προτρέπομαι, προϋπάρχω, πρωτοτόκια,† πτηνός, πτύον, πυρά.

ῥώννυμαι.

σεβάζομαι, σέβασμα, σεμνότης, σιγή, σιτιστός, σκάφη, σκευή, σκῆνος, σκοπέω, σκύβαλον, σπεῖρα, σπιλόω, σπουδαίως, στατήρ, στέγω, στηριγμός, στιβάς, στοιχεῖον, στράτευμα, στρηνιάω, συγγενεύς,† συνκυρία, συλάω, συμβούλιον,† σύμφορος, συνακολουθέω, συναλίζομαι, συνανάκειμαι,† συναποθνήσκω, συναυξάνομαι, συνβασιλεύω, συνγνώμη, συνδρομή, συνέπομαι, συνεργέω, συνεργός, συνευδοκέω, σύνζυγος, συνήθεια, συνοικοδομέω, συνπαθέω, συνπάσχω, συνφύομαι, συνχράομαι, σύνωμοσία, σχεδόν, σωματικός, σωφρονίζω, σωφρόνως, σωφροσύνη, σώφρων.

τάχα, τάχειον, τάχιστα, τεκμήριον, τελείως, τελεσφορέω, τηλικοῦτος, τήρησις, τίτλος,† τρίζω.

ὑπείκω, ὑπερβολή, ὑπερνικάω,† ὑπερφρονέω, ὑπηρετέω, ὑποβάλλω, ὑπογραμμός,† ὑποδέχομαι, ὑποζώννυμι, ὑπόκρισις, ὑπονοέω, ὑποταγή, ὑστέρησις.†

φανερῶς, φαντάζομαι, φθονέω, φθόνος, φιλάγαθος, φιλαδελφία, φιλάδελφος, φιλανθρωπία, φιλανθρώπως, φιλαργυρία, φιλάργυρος, φιλονεικία, φιλοσοφία, φιλόστοργος, φιλότεκνος, φιλοτιμέομαι, φιλοφρόνως, φλύαρος, φονεύς, φρόνημα, φρονίμως, φρουρέω, φυλακίζω,† φύσις, φωτεινός.

χάρισμα,† χαριτόω,† χειρόγραφον, χλαμύς, χλευάζω, χοῖρος, χολάω.

ψευδομάρτυς, ψεῦσμα, ψυχικός.

† Not in classical authors.

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